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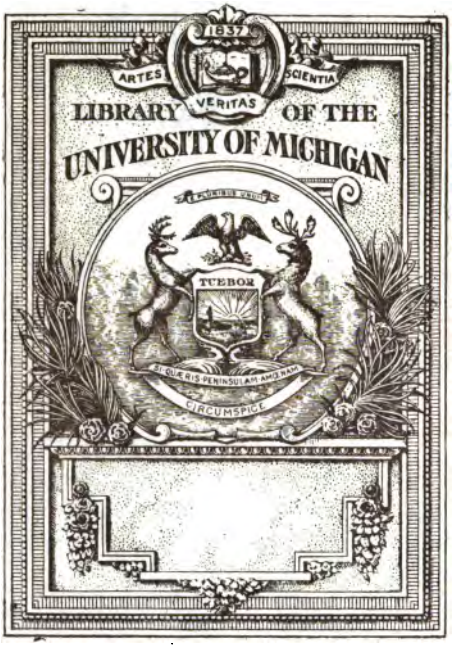
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MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

CONTAINING THE STATE OF THE

TURKISH EMPIRE AND THE CRIMEA,

DURING THE LATE

WAR WITH RUSSIA.

WITH NUMEROUS

ANECDOTES, FACTS, AND OBSERVATIONS,

ON THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

TURKS AND TARTARS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,

The STRICTURES of M. DE PEYSSONNEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,

PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXXXVI.

1786

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

IT may ſafely be averred, there has ſeldom appeared a Work more difficult to tranſlate than the Memoirs of Baron de Tott. The Talents of the Author are as variegated as the Incidents of his Life; and the numerous Arts and Sciences he treats of require no common degree of Accuracy. Nor is it ſufficient for his Tranſlator to be perfectly acquainted with the uſe and propriety of technical Terms, in his own Language; if they are not as familiar to him in French as in Engliſh, his Labour muſt be immenſe. To praiſe ourſelves, to depreciate others, and to inform the Public of the Superiority of our Tranſlation, would be to inſult the Public and degrade ourſelves. Readers have the power to compare and the right to judge; we are intereſted Parties, and Silence is Decency.

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We ſcarcely need obſerve, becauſe we imagine our Readers will know, that we allude to another Tranſlation of the ſame Work. We hold it totally unworthy men of Literature to conteſt with each other. The World is a free Market, where each has a Right to expoſe the Products of Induſtry, Knowledge, or Genius to Sale: but, though Rivals for a Prize in which Defeat is ſometimes Glory, the literary Character ſhould be that of Benignity, quieſcent Reſignation, and univerſal Philanthropy; Self-defence alone can excuſe Contention.

Such are our Opinions, and by ſuch Principles ſhall our Conduct be regulated. If we deſerve we ſhall obtain Approbation: nor do we think the World holds Tranſlations in ſuch Contempt as not to grant it where it is deſerved.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

THE Preface to this ſecond Edition will, chiefly, conſiſt of the Remarks of M. Mallet du Pan, ſo highly and ſo deſervedly praiſed by M. de Peyſſonnel, in his Strictures on the following Memoirs. We ſhall only firſt obſerve that we have moſt carefully, and we may ſay laboriouſly, reviſed our Tranſlation; and though, from the cauſes mentioned in the preceding Advertiſement, to eſcape wholly free from error was a thing ſcarcely poſſible, yet we had the pleaſure to find, on reviſal, our errors were few, and of a nature that would not greatly miſlead any Reader.

The Avidity with which the Memoirs of Baron de Tott have been read, and the applauſe with which they have been received, are ſufficiently known; but, as

Perfection is not inherent in Man, the philoſophical and the juſt Reader will not be ſurprized to learn that the Baron has, in ſome inſtances, been found imperfect. The Strictures and Remarks of M. de Peyſſonnel will be read with pleaſure by thoſe who wiſh only for truth; and ſuch allowances will be made for the Baron as may well be ſuppoſed to have been the reſult of imperfect Recollection, a too powerful Imagination, Errors of Habit, and Errors of the Senſes. The Memoirs and the Remarks, taken collectively, will, perhaps, give the beſt Picture of Turkey, as it exiſts at preſent, to be found in any work hitherto publiſhed. That we may omit nothing which can amuſe, inform, or gratify, our Readers, we ſhall now add that part of the Critique of M. Mallet du Pan, on the Memoirs of Baron de Tott, inſerted in the *Mercure de France*, which is hiſtorical or deſcriptive of the Turks. To tranſlate his Strictures would be ſuperfluous; they are either correſpondent with thoſe of M. de Peyſſonnel, or ſuch as, it is preſumed, moſt Readers will make for themſelves.

" An Athenian Orator, thinking to pleaſe " Antalcidas the Spartan, announced him- " ſelf as the Author of an Eulogium on " Hercules. An Eulogium on Hercules, " replied the Lacædemonian, who blames " Hercules? This was a judicious Reply, " applicable to moſt Panegyrics; and, cer- " tainly, to every literary approbation " which can be beſtowed on the Memoirs " of Baron de Tott. They have been the " ſubject of univerſal Curioſity, which they " have amply gratified. Yet, when our " Reſearches are extended to a mighty " Empire, the Laws by which it is govern- " ed, the Cuſtoms that characteriſe and " the Manners which diſhonor it, we " ought to aſſume a prudent and reſpectful " reſerve, and not, too haſtily, place en- " tire confidence in the beſt of Hiſtorians. " The more worthy the Writer the more " neceſſary it is cautiouſly to examine " thoſe Facts, Obſervations, Opinions and " Proofs on which this univerſal Applauſe " is founded.

" Our Ignorance concerning the Turks " has often been pronounced aſtoniſhing;

" but it would be much more aſtoniſhing
" if we had a perfect knowledge of them.
" How prodigious muſt be the patience,
" how unlimited the means, and how
" extenſive the knowledge of him who
" ſhould be able fully to inveſtigate, and
" accurately to deſcribe, a Nation like the
" Ottoman! He who beſt ſhould be able
" would moſt be diffident; and, by de-
" ſtroying his Journal, leave to common
" Travellers the taſk of deſcribing the Sur-
" face they may be ſaid to have ſkimmed.
" Are we well informed of the Cuſtoms,
" Laws, and Manners of neighbouring
" Nations? The Diverſity of Opinions,
" reſpecting them, prove we are not; and
" demonſtrate how ſlightly they have
" hitherto been examined. What muſt
" we be, then, if we turn theſe our im-
" perfect views to the eaſtern extremity of
" Europe, and on People who, even in
" Dreſs as well as Language, are as totally
" different from ourſelves as they are from
" Countries nearer to us, concerning which
" we ſo often differ and diſpute?

" As

" As the Hiſtory of a Nation is the beſt
" Portrait of its Character, of which its
" various Revolutions are the reſult, the
" Ottoman Annals of Prince Cantemir
" are, perhaps, the moſt faithful Mirror
" of the Genius of the Turks and the
" Spirit and Influence of their Govern-
" ment. This Hiſtory preſents us with
" their Manners, political Maxims, the
" connexion between their Laws and Re-
" ligion, that univerſal and inſatiable thirſt
" of Conqueſt by which every ſurround-
" ing Nation has been ſubdued, that
" haughty Energy, that natural Turbu-
" lence, and that love of War, which are
" the conſequences of the military and
" depredatory government of the Tartars,
" whoſe deſcendants the Ottomans are.
" Thoſe Hordes of Banditti have iſſued
" from the rocks of Caucaſus, and formed
" an Empire alike terrible to Europe and
" to Aſia; alike victorious over Perſians,
" Egyptians, and Chriſtians; by Invaſion
" laying waſte, and, for the ſpace of three
" Centuries, leading their triumphant
" Armies from the Nile to the Boriſthenes;

" from

" from the Euphrates to the Archipelago.
" Yet, while thus terrible to others, the
" Empire was peaceable within itſelf;
" Authority was reſpected, and Power
" formidable, ſo long as a Selim I, a So-
" liman II, or an Amurath IV, were ca-
" pable at once to inſpire their Subjects
" with their own Courage and overawe
" their Impetuoſity. Under lethargic So-
" vereigns, on the contrary, the Throne
" was degraded, ſhook, and frequently
" ſtained with its Maſter's blood; while
" the Military and the Multitude were
" never oppreſſed with impunity. Sedition
" obtained its purpoſe, yet the law was
" preſerved with religious veneration. Mi-
" niſters and Sultans were ſtrangled, but
" the Soldiers durſt not, like the Pretorian
" Bands, diſpoſe of the Crown, nor pro-
" claim the firſt Monſter who had the
" means of corrupting them Emperor.
" In vain, therefore, did the State change
" its Maſters, itſelf was the ſame; and
" the Revolutions of the Seraglio con-
" firmed the Laws more immutable and
" more ſacred.

" What

" What is now become of this ſame
" people; and what are their features in
" the following Memoirs?

" We find them blending the exceſs of
" eaſtern Effeminacy with that of original
" Ferocity; quitting Lethargy only for
" Drunkenneſs; as indolent as ſanguinary;
" cowardly in the enjoyment of Paſſions
" which are ever diſgraceful and ever ex-
" treme; inſenſible of ſhame that affects
" neither their Intereſt nor their Puſilla-
" nimity; Bigots in the belief of moral
" Precepts which are the objects of their
" Deriſion; Murderers; in ſhort, without
" reflection and without foreſight; be-
" ſotted by Ignorance of which they are
" vain; equal in pride and ſtupidity; de-
" generate becauſe idle; debaſed yet not
" aſhamed; miſerable yet not afflicted;
" yielding to Tyranny from the hope that,
" if not its Victim, they ſhould become
" its Inſtrument; unfeeling of Deſpotiſm
" till periſhing by Famine; deteſting the
" enemies of the Empire without the leaſt
" glow of public Spirit; equally diſpoſed

" to be abject or inſolent; without Valor,
" without Induſtry, and without Know-
" ledge; and who, while they deſpiſe, diſ-
" cover only that meanneſs of ſpirit with
" which they ſubmit to, Death.

" M. de Tott believes it to be the
" Climate and the Government which
" have formed this People ſuch as they
" are here deſcribed.

" The Power that holds them captive
" muſt, no doubt, be equally extraordi-
" nary with themſelves in its nature, irre-
" gular in its Progreſs, and dreadful in its
" Effects.

" What is this Power, and whom doth
" this People obey, whom the mutilating
" Sword neither affrights nor fatigues?
" An Automaton Monarch; concealed,
" vegetating, during one half of life, in
" the ſilent retreat of the Seraglio, with
" the Bow-ſtring and the Sabre continually
" in view; paſſing from this abject State
" to Power Supreme, ſtill goaded by the
" chains of Captivity; a Slave to-day, to-
" morrow the Tyrant and the Terror of

" fifty

" fifty millions of men; wearied by Cere-
" mony, ſurrounded by Forms and blind-
" fold Obedience, yet not obeyed unleſs
" he aſſumes the face of Menace and the
" hand of Blood; annihilating thoſe he
" means to puniſh; himſelf ſubmiſſive to
" ceremonial Laws, held ſuperior to thoſe
" ſacred Rules of Right by which the
" Social State exiſts; not daring to abſent
" himſelf from the Moſque, yet, on leaving
" it, inflicting Tortures whence his Ex-
" tortions are derived.

" It might be ſuppoſed that this Go-
" vernment, if Government it may be
" called, would relax in rigor as it travels
" from the Center, and that the Multi-
" tude would eſcape that deſtructive Force,
" the Power of which muſt be weakened
" by Diſtance. But, No. Deſpotiſm
" multiplies itſelf and paſſes from the So-
" vereign's handsinto thoſe of his Inſtru-
" ments. Rapacity is progreſſive; the
" Hope and the Example of Impunity
" make Subalterns daring; the Mutability
" of Office inflames Avarice, and bids it
" profit

" profit by Authority ſo ſubject to Viciſſi-
" tude; the Fear of Chaſtiſement is en-
" feebled by the ſight of Guilt ſo con-
" tinually unpuniſhed; the face of Terror
" becomes familiar by being ſeen ſo often,
" and the Man in Place continues his
" ravages while the Heads of his Aſſociates
" roll reeking at his feet.

MEMOIRS

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

HISTORY, on a firſt View, ſeems an Altar of Horror, on which Victims are offered up only to render the Names of thoſe Executioners illuſtrious who ſacrifice them to gratify their own Paſſions. But it likewiſe exhibits a moſt valuable Picture of Manners; and this part of Hiſtory, no doubt, muſt always appear the moſt intereſting, when we conſider, that a Nation is governed by its Cuſtoms, as Individuals are by their reſpective Characters. Where can we find a more fruitful Source for the Knowledge and Government of Men?

For this Reaſon, Governors ought to ſearch Hiſtory. They would perceive that

Cuſtoms, by inſenſibly giving birth to, and modifying, Manners, are every where the origin of Action, among Mankind; they prepare, they effect the Revolution of Empires; they furniſh Materials for an Edifice, which they likewiſe render durable, or undermine and ſhake to Deſtruction. The inſinuating tardineſs of Evil conceals its Progreſs; and this fatal Progreſs is not perceived, till the very moment when he who might apply the remedy receives, himſelf, an Infection he wants the Power to repel.

If we leave, loſt in obſcurity, thoſe Banditti, who, like Torrents, ravaged the Earth and ſwept away ſmall Societies, aſſuming the pompous title of Empires; and if we, likewiſe, except a few ſmall States, which, after having increaſed the Extent and Power of riſing Rome, carried its Reputation ſo far as to make diſtant Nations ſubmit to the Summons of her Heralds, we ſhall find, that no mighty Kingdom has actually ſunk under any ſingle Attack, from a foreign Power: no well eſtabliſhed Empire was ever overturned by the loſs of a ſingle Battle. Greece, en-

ſlaved by the Romans, Rome, itſelf, ſubjugated by Barbarians, have not ceded ſo much to the Power of their Conquerors as to their own interior Feebleneſs.

This Truth needs no Examination. It is, perhaps, the only one perfectly eſtabliſhed by Hiſtory, in its Relations of the Riſe and Fall of Ancient Empires. But, might not an Enquiry, into the particular Manners and Cuſtoms of any People, ſerve to throw a Light on their Hiſtory, though no Tradition of paſt Tranſactions had been preſerved by themſelves? Theſe Manners and Cuſtoms would be as valuable a Monument of former Events, among ſuch Nations, as the Parian Marbles have been of the Grecian Antiquities. It is only neceſſary to know how to decypher the Characters; and then, in every Country, they will ſupply the Place of Inſcriptions and Records. In them we ſhall find clear Indications of the Changes which have taken place in preceding Ages. That People, whoſe Manners are found the leaſt ſimple, muſt have experienced the moſt frequent Revolutions; while the Nations

among whom they ſeem merely the effect of the phyſical Influence of Climate, may be pronounced to have never been conquered.

When we conſider that the Tyranny of Deſpotiſm is to be met with in the Neighbourhood of the Polar Circle, as well as under the Torrid Zone, how can we believe the Manners of a Nation can depend alone on Climate? If we admit that Republicaniſm has preceded Monarchy, whence has it happened that the latter ſhould have entirely effaced all Traces of Ancient Liberty? Yet of ſuch Revolutions the World is full; they appear to be the true Cauſe of that Variety of Manners which, at preſent, renders Nations ſo different, as viſibly to alter the primitive and natural Reſemblance of all Human Societies.

Compare a Mancheu Tartar with a Tartar of Beſſarabia; you may ſearch in vain for that Interval of Fifteen Hundred Leagues, by which they are ſeparated. The Climate differs but little, the Government is the ſame. Afterwards obſerve the Greek

Greek and the Turk, whoſe Habitations join each other; you will then find the Fifteen hundred Leagues you before ſought to no purpoſe; yet are they both under the ſame ſky, and live after the ſame manner. Supply the place of the Mancheu, to the Northward of China, by the Arab; who, beneath the Tropic, cools himſelf at the Cataracts of the Nile; his Manners will be found to bear a greater Reſemblance to thoſe of the Tartars than thoſe of the Egyptians, his Countrymen. But, if he paſs the River Amur, he will afford a ſtriking Contraſt to the Ruſſian Soldier. In this Examination it will be diſtinctly perceived, that the Character of Individuals is far more affected by the Nature of the Government than the Influence of Climate. We ſhall ſee the Power of Moral Cauſes conſtantly predominating over that of Phyſical, and be able to account for thoſe Varieties which ſeem moſt difficult to explain.

If we conſider, under this Point of View, the Deſcendants of Patroclus and Achilles, we ſhall perceive that, under the Impreſ-

ſions of the ſame Climate, Deſpotiſm, which enſlaved the latter Greeks, before conquered by Alexander, while it ſet upon them the Mark of its Slavery, could not efface the Traces of that Religious Puſillanimity by which the Grecian Empire was ruined; and if we go back to the Epocha of the Glory of the antient Greeks, we ſhall find, in the nature of thoſe early Governments, the Correctives of a Climate which invites more to the Enjoyment than the Contempt of Life. The wretched Debility of the Lower Empire could not but enfeeble thoſe Souls who were formerly enflamed by the Love of Glory, Virtue, and Liberty. Under the Yoke of actual Tyrants, Phyſical Cauſes muſt regain their Influence: theſe can only be overcome by moral ones, which are ever annihilated by Deſpotiſm, the Species of Government which, of all others, takes leaſt effect on the Multitude; who are continually ſacrificed to its Oppreſſions, becauſe its great Reliance is on thoſe who are the principal Inſtruments of the Calamities of the People.

If

If the Climate which the Turks inhabit relaxes the Fibres, Deſpotiſm, by which they are enſlaved, incites them to Violence. They are ſometimes even brutal; and this Ferocity is increaſed by their Doctrine of Predeſtination. This Prejudice, which, in a cold Climate, might have rendered them Brave, in a hot one only inſpires them with Temerity and Fanaticiſm (*a*). Perpetually heated with this Fever, they deſpiſe whatever is not agreeable to the Manners of their Nation; the neceſſary Reſult of which is Pride and Ignorance. So that, in the very Country

(*a*) This Aſſertion is conſtantly proved in the private Quarrels of the Turks. Intoxication always precedes Revenge. Aſſaſſination is the only method employed; but Danger is never faced in cold blood. An Ottoman Army, when attacked, takes to Flight before it is beaten. But the firſt Shock of the Turks, when they can reſolve to attack firſt, is always dangerous and difficult to ſuſtain. At the Affair of Grotſka, they filled the Foſſes of a Redoubt with dead Bodies, in order to gain poſſeſſion of it; and, in the laſt war with the Ruſſians, ſome of them have been ſo far hurried away, by Fanaticiſm, as to brave the Fire of the Artillery, and ruſh, like Madmen, to hew the Cannon of the Enemy in pieces, with their Sabres.

which was the Nurſe of the Arts, and once produced a Pericles, a Euclid, and a Homer, the Sciences are, at preſent, treated with Deriſion and Contempt. The Love of Fame, however, will always prevail among Mankind; Vanity is continually in Action, but its Views are different. The Turks are, perhaps, the only People who ſeek Celebrity by Murder, without having ſufficient Courage to commit it deliberately. When the Climate enfeebles, at the ſame time that Deſpotiſm incites to Violence, Intoxication, only, can impart Reſolution ſufficient for ſuch a Crime; and its Commiſſion raiſes the Criminal to an Equality with the Deſpot.

When we reflect on the Relation which the Manners and Cuſtoms of every Nation bear to Climate and Government, and carefully obſerve the Characters of former Governments, we ſee, with ſenſible concern, the Multitude continually inclining towards the worſt Side, and perpetually preſerving the Inſtruments of their moral Deſtruction.

This

This Effect is remarkably displayed in that People, who, from being the most celebrated of Nations, is now become the meaneſt; though, ſtill, the moſt numerous, and extenſively diſperſed. The Jews, whoſe Induſtry exerts itſelf all over the World, without having their Poſſeſſions thoroughly ſecured by the Laws, every where receiving Impreſſions from the Government under which they reſide, ſtill preſerve, in the midſt of thoſe very Governments, ſome traces of their ancient Theocracy, in the Exerciſe of a kind of Privilege with which they are indulged, and which can alone maintain the ſtupid Pride that renders them inſenſible to every Injury they receive. This Inſenſibility remains with the Jews, even in the cold and mountainous Countries, where Men, robuſtly formed, are always courageous, and often vindictive. Moral Cauſes will always prevail over Phyſical, when Tyranny, or the Abuſe of Liberty, weaken the effect of the latter.

If, the better to eſtimate this laſt Aſſertion, we compare the diſtinct Character of all

all Nations with their Hiſtory, it will, certainly, be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh, in the Multitude of Events in which they have been intereſted, thoſe of a tranſitory Nature, from thoſe which have been produced by the Incorporation of the Conquerors with the Conquered. Torrents merely alter the Surface of the Earth, without producing any eſſential Difference in the Nature of the Soil. This Diſtinction is of great importance, in order not to confound the Madman, who overran Aſia, to enſlave the World he had laid waſte, with that Alexander who built Alexandria, to be the Metropolis of the whole Earth, and maintain a Communication between both Hemiſpheres. It is equally uſeful to obſerve the Nature of the conquered Country, in order not to conſider, in the ſame light, the Inhabitants of the Mountains, who are never ſubdued, with thoſe of the Plains, who are always eaſily overcome. Thus conſidered, there are no Kingdoms, or even Provinces, which will not afford People eſſentially different, though

though confounded under the ſame Denomination.

It will likewiſe be eaſy to diſtinguiſh the Effects of the ſame form of Government; and this difference will always exiſt. Man continually feels an invincible Deſire of Liberty, and determines to procure it, the moment he perceives its Enjoyment poſſible. In a Mountainous Region, he preſerves an Independence, favoured by the Situation. Accuſtomed to aſcend Precipices, he climbs them without Difficulty, and, from their Summit, braves the Power to which the Inhabitant of the Plain ſubmits, no leſs from Habit than the nature of the Country. Plenty and Eaſe conſole the latter, for the Bondage to which he is ſubjected; while the charms of Liberty recompenſe the Mountaineer, for all the Wants and Fatigues to which he is expoſed, for their Sake.

On ſurveying Syria we perceive Deſpotiſm extending along its level Coaſts, but ſtopped by the firſt Mountain, the firſt narrow Paſs which is eaſily to be defended. The Curds, the Druſes, and the Mutualis, Poſſeſſors

Poſſeſſors of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, continually preſerve their Independence, their Manners, and the Memory of the Illuſtrious Facardin.

The Macedonians can never have been really conquered, but in their Plains. Their Mountains muſt have afforded them the ſame Aſylum, againſt the Tyranny of the Romans, which they now find, there, from that of the Ottomans. No Revolution, therefore, has altered, among theſe Mountaineers, the Influences of Climate. From the Time of the great Hero of Greece, we find no intermediate Epocha. They are ſtill indefatigable Cultivators of their Country, and no leſs brave than laborious; always united in defence of the common cauſe, and each able to revenge himſelf for every perſonal Injury. They ſtill ſing the Victories of Alexander, with a certainty of gaining the like, over the firſt Enemy who ſhall dare oppoſe their Courage.

There is no Nation concerning which more has been written than the Turkiſh; and

and few Prejudices more univerſal than thoſe entertained, concerning their Manners. The Voluptuouſneſs of the Aſiatics, the intoxication of Happineſs, enjoyed by them in the midſt of a Multiplicity of Wives, the Beauty of the Females who fill pretended Seraglios, the gallant Intrigues of the Turks, their heroic Actions, their Generoſity, their Courage, all contribute to ſwell this Accumulation of Errors. Even their Juſtice has been cited as exemplary. But how can it happen (ſaid M. de Monteſquieu) that the moſt ignorant People ſhould have the cleareſt Perception of what is of greateſt importance to be underſtood by Mankind?

This Objection could not eſcape the Penetration of true Genius. M. de Monteſquieu would, equally, have refuſed the Turks that delicate Voluptuouſneſs, and thoſe Principles of Magnanimity they have been pretended to poſſeſs. He would have perceived, that an ignorant Nation cannot augment its Happineſs, becauſe its Ignorance reſults from a Principle which always deſtroys, and can never improve.

Any

Any Individual in France, or England, however ignorant, if he be rich, will always poſſeſs an appearance of Happineſs, capable of deceiving. His Miſtreſs ſhall be amiable, he ſhall even poſſeſs ſeveral, who ſhall live together in perfect Amity. Good Taſte ſhall appear in every thing round him; he ſhall be well dreſſed, and his Equipage genteel. The habit of borrowing the Ideas of others ſhall even veil his Ignorance. He is an opake Body, placed in a broad and glaring Light. In a poliſhed Nation, Riches procure every thing. Among an ignorant People, they are merely a Burthen, and the more heavy, becauſe, finding no room for further acquiſition, their Attention is neceſſarily confined to preſerve them with Care. Riches are ſtill more eagerly amaſſed, when the impoſſibility of enjoying them only preſents the fruitleſs ſatisfaction of Accumulation.

Riches alone are not ſufficient to inſure the true enjoyment of what we poſſeſs. Among the claſs of Opulent Perſons, the Happy are rare, becauſe it is more

more eaſy to abuſe than to make a proper uſe of our wealth. It is, perhaps, the only caſe in which Ignorance ſucceeds beſt; though it cannot be denied but Knowledge is neceſſary, to the enjoyment of our Poſſeſſions, as well as Sobriety, to the preſervation of Health.

If theſe Reflections are obvious, to any one who is willing and able to reflect, whence does it ariſe, that though we have maintained an Intercourſe with the Turks, for, at leaſt, two Centuries, we have, as yet, received only falſe Notions? And what Right have I to expect, that he, who reads for Information, ſhould believe theſe, I am about to offer, rather than thoſe, to which he has been accuſtomed? Yet no ſuch Reflections have occurred on reading the pretended Letters of Lady Montagu. They were entertaining: this was all the Author deſired; and this too often affords perfect Satisfaction to the Reader(A)*. The Anecdote of a Janiſſary, who offered

* The alphabetic capitals A, B, &c. inſerted in the text, are references to the Remarks of M. de Peyſſonnel, printed at the end of the ſecond volume.

to

to bring that Ambaſſadreſs the Head of a Cadi, inſtead of ſome Pigeons ſhe requeſted, and which could not be procured, will, no doubt, pleaſe more than that of the Death of three Favourites of Sultan Mahamout, whom that Prince ſacrificed to the Conſequences of an Inſult offered to another Cadi (*b*).

(*b*) Sultan Mahamout had placed entire confidence in the Kiſlar-Aga; who confided in a young Turk, named Soliman; and the latter was entirely devoted to Yakoub, an Armenian Banker. This Triumvirate were only employed in exciting and ſatisfying the Deſires of the Sultan; which Practice, at the ſame time that it ſupplied the Avarice of the Favourites, inſured their Influence. All Offices were ſold to the beſt Bidder. Their Subalterns diſpoſed, in like manner, of the meaneſt Employments. They, at length, arrived at that degree of Inſolence which is incapable of bearing the ſmalleſt Oppoſition. One of their Domeſtics dared to threaten, with his Whip, the Judge of Scutari; who, refuſing to put up tamely with ſuch an Inſult, had recourſe to the Law. His Houſe was deſtroyed, during the Night; and this method of ſilencing his Complaints occaſioned ſuch univerſal Diſcontent that every day produced a freſh Conflagration; which extraordinary Mode, of gaining the Attention of the Sovereign, was ſo ſucceſsful, as to determine the Grand Seignior to cauſe the Heads of his three Favourites to be ſtruck off; and

The Ridiculouſneſs of the former Anecdote, is concealed by the Livelineſs of the Story; while the latter only ſhews us the Abuſe of Deſpotiſm, and the Feebleneſs of the Deſpot. It makes Humanity ſhudder.

But nothing is more common, when the Language of the Country viſited is not underſtood, than to imbibe, and ſpread, falſe Opinions, concerning it, without any intention to deceive, but with the greateſt Deſire to be exact. I have conſidered what Lady Montague relates, concerning her Janiſſary, the Cadi, and the Pigeons; and can diſcover, in the Genius of the Turkiſh Language, and Nation, what may have deceived her; notwithſtanding the literal Tranſlation of the Janiſſary's Anſwer which ſhe might receive from her Interpreter. In fact, weary of attempting to procure the Pigeons, (which, leſs taken care of in Tur-

and as they had accuſtomed him to vary his Pleaſures, he was preſent at the Execution of young Soliman and Yakoub (B). That of the Kiſlar-Aga was performed within the Tower of Leander.

key, are more wild) and, perhaps, roughly treated by the Cadi, who might be offended at the trouble given by the Ambaſſadreſs, that Soldier may be allowed to have aſked her, if ſhe would have him bring her the Cadi's Head; and, if we ſuppoſe this Queſtion accompanied by an air and accent of Impatience, we ſhall find it convey a greater contempt for the Lady than the Judge. But this circumſtance was not repreſented to her, by her Interpreter, with ſufficient Fidelity.

It is in this manner that Travellers, deſtitute of what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, if they wiſh to derive Inſtruction from their Travels, have propagated a number of Abſurdities, without having any other Fault but the want of a ſufficient miſtruſt of themſelves. This Judgment ought certainly to appear impartial and moderate.

One reflection, however, preſents itſelf, againſt thoſe who read theſe trifling Reveries. I do not mean to addreſs myſelf to thoſe who are fond of that kind of Extravagance,

vagance, but to ſuch as are deſirous of real Inſtruction. How can ſuch abſurd Contradictions eſcape being ſeen? Are there not certain Rules to inveſtigate Truth? Were we told that a Perſon we knew to have but one hand or one eye had made uſe of both, would the Tale be credited? And if we ſhould reject ſuch fooliſh Aſſertions, how can we imagine it true, that Deſpotiſm does not deſtroy the Faculties which render Man happy?

Eſtabliſh this political Monſter, conſider it in all Relations, under all Circumſtances, combine Cauſes and Conſequences, and you can no longer be deceived; except by the colouring, and in a few un-important Particulars. Yet theſe may be ſufficient to propagate and perpetuate a Multitude of Errors.

I ſhould, myſelf, be guilty of this very Fault, if, in writing concerning the Turks, I gave myſelf up to thoſe ſenſations with which a firſt View inſpired me. We ought to weigh every thing with Impartiality, and miſtruſt our own Judgment. It is only

by living among them for three and twenty Years, and in different Stations, that I have been able to gain a knowledge of their Manners (*c*). I, therefore, can only judge of them as they preſented themſelves to me; can only preſent them in the ſame manner to my Readers; lay the ſame Chain of Events before thoſe who wiſh for Information; and, thus, furniſh them with the like means of procuring it. It is of no importance what Impreſſions I received from a Picture, when I can exhibit the Picture itſelf.

This Conſideration has determined me only to write the Journal of my Stay in Turkey, and Tartary; and that of my laſt Voyage to the trading Sea-ports of the Levant. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch Obſervations as may be neceſſary to illuſtrate Facts; without hazarding any Opinion of my own, which cannot be clearly proved.

(*c*) The Principle which I have laid down, on the Neceſſity of learning the Language of the Nation, which we wiſh thoroughly to know, ought to leave no doubt of the care I took to become acquainted with this great Eſſential, in endeavouring to acquire a Knowledge of the Turks.

To

To conſent to be ignorant is a great advancement towards Inſtruction; and to confeſs that we are ignorant, ought, certainly, to gain the Confidence of the Reader. This is not the Syſtem adopted by thoſe Travellers who are ſo haſty to introduce their Readers into the Interior of the Seraglio; a Receſs abſolutely impenetrable. A thorough Acquaintance with the Manners of the Nation, the Influence of the Climate, and the Nature of its Government, and a careful examination of particular Cuſtoms, can alone enable us to Scale the Walls of ancient Byzantium (*d*). But of all the intereſting Objects a Nation, ſuch as the Turkiſh, preſents, muſt their Women, then, be eſteemed the Principal?

Of what Importance is it to Mankind to learn, that an Individual, to whom Fortune, and the Prejudice of his Country, allow the free Enjoyment of forty Women, collects that number, and confines them in their Apartments? We are only led to lament the unhappy Victims; and may pro-

(*d*) The Boundary of Ancient Byzantium only contains, at preſent, the Seraglio of the Grand Seignior.

nounce, without examination, that thoſe who are thus confined muſt be impatient under their Reſtraint. It is of far more conſequence to know the Effects of this ſtrange Practice; the moſt oppoſite to that of a State of Nature. Reaſon, alone, will be able to ſolve the Problem; and an actual examination of their Manners muſt confirm the Solution.

As the Circumſtances in which I was principally engaged afford me but few Opportunities of mentioning the Turkiſh Women, I think it proper to endeavour to correct the Miſtakes concerning them, by making ſome Obſervations on the Plurality of Wives, their manner of living, in this melancholy ſtate of Society, and the Abuſes which reſult from the Practice itſelf.

By beginning with this Subject, I ſhall equally gratify the Public Impatience and my own: if they are in haſte to penetrate the Interior of the Harams (*e*), they will ſoon

(*e*) Haram only ſignifies the Apartment of the Women, the Incloſure which particularly concerns them. We muſt not therefore confound it with the Seraglio, which means no more than the Palace. All the Turks have

ſoon ſhare my eagerneſs to leave them, and examine what will prove more deſerving Attention.

The Koran, which is the Rule of Religious Worſhip, Morality, civil, and criminal Law, and, by an Interpretation allowed to the Judges, provides for every Caſe, reſtrains the Turks to four Women (*Nikiahlus*, or married); but Marriage, among the Mahometans, is only a Civil Act, a Contract, entered into in preſence of the Judge, who, in this Caſe, only officiates as a common Notary. The Portion, as well as the Paraphernalia, which are Objects of the greateſt importance, are regiſtered in this Inſtrument; which ſecures the returns to be made in caſe of Divorce; and this Deed is called *Nikiah* (C).

There is alſo another kind of Marriage; which, ſtipulating the Return to be made, fixes likewiſe the Time when the Divorce is to take place. This Contract is called

have a Haram; the Viſir himſelf has no Seraglio. The Ambaſſadors of crowned Heads have a Seraglio but no Haram. The Grand Seignior has both the one and the other.

Kapin; and, properly ſpeaking, is only an Agreement made between the Parties to live together for ſuch a Price during ſuch a Time (*f*).

Another Law, called *Namèkrem*, forbids marriageable Females to unveil, and Wives alſo, to any Man except their Huſbands. This Law, certainly, is not favourable to Marriages of Inclination. A Turk, therefore, marries the Daughter of his Neighbour, or his Widow, without knowing her. He can only determine by the Report of his own Women, or ſome Perſon by whom ſhe has been ſeen (D).

We ſhall perceive, on a moment's reflection, that this Law of Namekrem can-

(*f*) When a ſingle perſon is allowed an excluſive Right to forty Women, the nine and thirty other Men, whom this unequal Partition deprives of the ſweeteſt Conſolation of Humanity, ſhould have ſomething granted to make them Amends. We every where ſee that, when any Law contradicts Nature it produces another, which diſavows the firſt. Hence are derived the Marriage by Kapin, the Aſylums in favour of Debtors, and Eſtabliſhments for Foundling Children. Governments reſemble thoſe infatuated Gameſters whoperpetually condemn their own Conduct, but never amend.

not

not be ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved among the Women of the common People, who labour, as by thoſe whoſe Situation places them more at their eaſe. The Artiſt, therefore, may call in the aſſiſtance of his Eyes, to direct his Choice, when the want of Fortune renders uſeleſs his Right to a Plurality. Misfortune almoſt always meets with ſomething by which it is conſoled: The Abuſe of Happineſs is alone deſtitute of every Alleviation.

The Plurality of Wives is of this latter kind; it leads to extravagant Expences. Who is the Perſon by whom they can be ſupported? Except thoſe who are engaged in Commerce, and, having become rich by their Oeconomy, are to be excluded from the claſs of the oſtentatious, the Turks never arrive at Opulence but by Employments. Theſe they only obtain by the Favour of the Great, who have been advanced in the ſame manner. Their Fortune is merely perſonal, which Avidity accumulates, and Terror conceals; which Luxury diſſipates, and Opportunity renews. The Uncertainty of their Situation increaſes

increaſes their haſte to acquire, and to ſquander.

The Turks rarely leave large Fortunes to their Children. Sums ſufficiently conſiderable to ſerve for Portions would be likewiſe capable of exciting the Avidity of the Sultan; and he would eaſily find Pretences to ſeize them, by ſearching into the means by which they were acquired.

A Turk therefore is ſeldom rich enough to maintain any conſiderable Haram, till, by the Favour of his Patron, he has arrived at Employments of great Authority, and where this Authority becomes lucrative, in Proportion as it is abuſed.

Until then, mixed with other young Perſons, whom the ſame ambitious expectations have attached to the ſame Maſter, reduced to live among Men only, carried away by the violence of his Paſſions, ſeparated from the Women, though excited by knowing they are near, if obliged to cede to Nature he cannot but wander from her Laws.

We have already ſeen, that the Turkiſh Women, who cannot be procured but by Marriage,

Marriage, nor known till that has taken place, are equally reduced to live entirely among themſelves. What therefore muſt be their Education? Born in Opulence, they are either the Daughters of a legal Wife, or of a Slave, the Favourite of the Moment. Their Brothers and Siſters have had different Mothers, who were no other than Slaves in the ſame Houſe. Without any employment, but that furniſhed by their Jealouſy of each other; ſcarcely able to read, or write; or, if they read, reading nothing but the Koran; expoſed, in their hot Baths, to all the inconveniencies of a forced perſpiration, ſo frequently repeated as to deſtroy the freſhneſs of the Complexion and the Grace of the Features, even before they are marriageable; indolent through Pride, and frequently mortified by the inefficacy of the means, employed, before their eyes, to pleaſe their Proprietor; deſtined themſelves to the ſame Fate, without expecting any greater Succeſs; what Pleaſure can ſuch Women be ſuppoſed to give their Huſband? But he never depended upon them for an increaſe of Happineſs.

Let

Let us ſee, then, if he has more to expect from multiplying his Slaves; whom he has a right to chooſe, whom he may marry without Formality, and whom he may, if he pleaſe, ſet free: certainly, a much more precious Privilege.

This is the place to give a proper Idea of the Georgian and Circaſſian Slaves, whoſe Beauty is ſo celebrated (E). Perhaps it may be of more importance ſtill to aſcertain the Laws of Slavery in Turkey. Men are already ſufficiently wicked without our ſuffering a vague and ill-founded Opinion to add to their Depravity.

Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews are, any more than the Turks, ſubjected to a natural Slavery. The Deſpotiſm of the Sultan cannot ſeize the Perſon of a young Girl, whatever deſire ſhe may have excited in her Sovereign; and though we ſtill find, among the Greeks, the ſame beautiful Forms which ſerved as Models to Praxiteles, the Turkiſh Annals furniſh no example of ſuch an Enormity.

Georgia

Georgia and Circaſſia are no more enſlaved than any other Province, more immediately ſubject to the Grand Seignior (*g*): but the Right of War ſupplies the defect of natural Right. It has procured the Turks near twenty thouſand Slaves, carried off, by the Cham of the Tartars, from new Servia, and, in part, given up to the Ruſſians, at the Peace. Krim-Gueray, who commanded in this Expedition, had, formerly, in conſequence of the ſame Right, laid waſte Moldavia, without regard to the Sovereignty of the Grand Seignior (G). It is alſo according to the Laws of War, in Turkey, that any Province which revolts ſhall be given up to Pillage, and the Inhabitants reduced to Slavery. This is the univerſal Practice of all Aſia; and on ſuch ſavage Principles is half the World ſtill governed. It is in conſequence of this Cuſtom that Georgia and Circaſſia ſupply

(*g*) Georgia is rather a Province of Perſia, than Turkey; but Prince Heraclius has taken advantage of the Troubles which have deſolated the Country of his Sovereign, to enjoy a kind of Independence (F).

the

the Market of Conſtantinople with Slaves (*b*).

This is continually furniſhed by the Leſguis Tartars, who, ſituated between the Caſpian and Black Seas, between Georgia and Circaſſia, are perpetually at War with the Inhabitants of thoſe two Provinces. They carry over, to the eaſtern Coaſt of the Black Sea, the Slaves they have taken, and ſell them to the Turkiſh Merchants, who come thither, at ſtated Times. The Inhabitants of this ſame Coaſt, likewiſe, ſeize on their Countrymen, in the neighbouring Villages, and ſell them; I have even been aſſured that Children have been ſometimes ſold by their Parents.

A Country rendered colder, by its Mountains, than is uſual in the ſame Latitude, a People ſo wretched as to ſell their Children, ſo ill-governed as to ſteal them from each other, and ſo incapable of Reſiſtance as to

(*b*) The Idea which is annexed to a beautiful Slave, of Georgia, or Circaſſia, is, then, reduced to this; that all Slaves, in Turkey, who have any Beauty, are neceſſarily Georgian or Circaſſian; but this by no means proves they are all beautiful.

give

give way to foreign Rapine, exhibit no Proof of Improvement or Education. Children, therefore, are the only Slaves, whoſe Beauty and Attractions can be carefully improved. On this the Avarice of the Merchant is employed. He even endeavours to increaſe the Value of his Slave, by ſome agreeable Accompliſhments: an indecent Dance, accompanied by Caſtanets, is the moſt valuable of all others.

Lady Montague aſſures us that theſe Dances are voluptuous. I have ſeen the very beſt Exhibitions of this kind, by thoſe who were Adepts in the Art, but I can find no terms to deſcribe them. I certainly ſhall not employ the word Voluptuous for that purpoſe (*).

I muſt add, that Female Dancers are deſpiſed in Turkey; and that a Slave who ſhould have rendered herſelf agreeable to her Maſter, by this Talent, would ſoon ceaſe to exerciſe it. They are therefore

(*) It is evident that Baron de Tott does not underſtand the power of the word Voluptuous, in the Engliſh language. He has tranſlated literally, and is deceived (T).

only

only employed to awaken and animate theſe Automatons. Mere Beauty is not ſufficient to effect this; but Indecency has greater ſucceſs. Gracefulneſs, Vivacity, and Expreſſion can, alone, ſeduce, and are more powerful than regularity of Features; while an inſenſible Dignity, and profound Ignorance, render Beauty itſelf inſipid.

The Turkiſh Women, then, contribute but little to the Pleaſures of their Poſſeſſor. I am well convinced, from what I have known of ſeveral of my Friends, that, except in the caſe of ſome new ſlave, who may excite their Curioſity, the Haram only inſpires them with Diſguſt. There are many Turks who never enter it, but to reſtore Tranquillity, when the Superintendant is no longer able. But though ſuch Irregularities are ſeverely puniſhed, the Cauſes of them can never be entirely removed. This Diſorder, ariſing from Reſtraint, and the collecting together ſo many Women, ought to be conſidered as the ſecond Conſequence of the Law which eſtabliſhes a Plurality. Nature, equally ſuffering

fering Violence, in both Sexes, may be expected to lead them both equally aſtray.

Another effect of this Plurality, is, that the Women, conſtantly watched by their Companions, do not attempt to diſſemble their Deſires, or their Jealouſy; they only endeavour to conceal their Diſſenſions. Too Fortunate if Nature, calmed, aſſwaged, and deceived, does not incite them to eſcape from Priſon to ſeek a Reality; an extravagance of which they are always the Victims, and which I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter.

To whatever Reſtraint Cuſtom has ſubjected the Turkiſh Women, we are not, however, to imagine, they are not allowed to ſend their Slaves on any Errand, or go out themſelves to purchaſe what they want. I know no Turk by whom they are denied this Liberty (H). They even frequently go abroad, on Excurſions of Pleaſure, or on a Viſit to other Harams; and, in this latter caſe, a ſtrict Obſervance of the cuſtomary Rule would oblige the Turk, whoſe Women are viſited, not to enter his Haram, while the Strangers are

there. But how eaſy is it to elude this Law? And, if the Parties are agreed, who ſhall give Information of its Infringement?

Though the Streets are filled with Women, who freely paſs and repaſs, about their Buſineſs, though the Harams, moſt ſcrupulouſly watched, are, nevertheleſs, frequently opened, to let their Inhabitants ſeek Amuſement, we ought not, therefore, to conclude, with Lady Montague, that gallant Intrigues are encouraged in the Shops, where the Women may ſometimes come. They would there be too eaſily obſerved. It is only in the Country, or on the moſt lonely Parts of the Sea Shore, that Licentiouſneſs ſeeks an Aſylum; diſregarding the Danger of being diſcovered by the Guards, whoſe ſearch no Place eſcapes.

The Boſtandgi-Bachi, whoſe authority extends for ſeveral Leagues round the Reſidence of the Grand Seignior, is empowered to inſpect into, and prevent, theſe Intrigues. His Office, in this reſpect, reſembles that of the Lieutenant of the Police of Paris. Hence he derives the moſt important

portant Perquiſites of his Employment; and is, indeed, frequently guilty of ſhameful Extortions; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of theſe Memoirs. I have now ſaid ſufficient, on the Turkiſh Women, to prepare the Reader for what is to follow,

MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE FIRST.

THE death of Sultan Mahamout, and that of M. Deſalleurs, determined the court of France to ſend M. De Vergennes to Conſtantinople. I had orders to accompany him, learn the language, and inform myſelf concerning the Turkiſh manners and government. Having embarked at Marſeilles, on board a merchant ſhip hired for that purpoſe, we ſet ſail the beginning of April, 1755; but, meeting with contrary winds, did not enter the Strait of the Dardanelles till about the 18th of May.—We perceived before we arrived there a Turkiſh Caravel, or ſhip of war, at anchor, oppoſite Tenedos, and its Felucca

ſailing towards us, which came up with us as we paſſed the coaſt of Troy: ſhe came to diſcover what we were; but our fear of the plague made us wiſh to ſhun any communication with her. My late father, whom the king ſent with M. de Vergennes to Conſtantinople, whither he had already made ſeveral voyages, and who ſpoke the language, prevailed on the Turks not to come on board, and thought it proper to recompenſe the Commander of the Felucca with ſome bottles of *liqueurs*. Our cabin-boy, in a miſtake, brought up ſix vials of lavender-water; we were willing to rectify the error, but my father prevented us, ſaying it was of no conſequence: accordingly we gave the lavender-water and parted; but the impatience of the Turk ſoon drew our attention. He ſeized a vial, ſtruck off the neck, emptied it at a ſingle draught, and, turning round, made us a ſign of approbation. We all, except my father, expected to ſee the poor fellow tumble down, overpowered by the liquor: this fear, however, was not of long duration; another bottle, opened, emptied, and

approved of, in the ſame manner, made us perfectly eaſy. A ſhort time afterwards we entered the Strait of the Dardanelles, and the veſſel ſtruck her pendant to ſhun the ſalute of the caſtles, as alſo that of the Captain Pacha, or Turkiſh Admiral, whoſe fleet was moored at Gallipoli, and we at length caſt anchor in the port of Conſtantinople, May 21ſt, 1755.

Situated at the eaſtern extremity of Europe, near the Black Sea, this city is only ſeparated from Aſia by the Boſphorus of Thrace, which channel forms a communication between the two ſeas, and diſcharges on the South ſide that ſurplus of waters which the North pours into the Black Sea.—The Seraglio is ſituated on a kind of cape or head-land, which, jutting into the ſea, intercepts, in part, thoſe violent currents that run ſouthward, and thus turns the water into the harbour, round which it circulates, and again joins the ſtream. It is to this natural mechaniſm that the port of Conſtantinople owes the advantage of continually cleanſing itſelf, from all the rubbiſh and filth with which

it is daily encumbered. Thus doth the ſea defend itſelf from improvident Ignorance. Even eighty gun ſhips may lie, without the leaſt danger, with their ſides cloſe up to the quay.

If Ambition, deſirous of univerſal dominion, had conſulted a map of the World, to diſcover the moſt proper ſituation for the capital of its Empire, that of Conſtantinople, without doubt, had been preferred. Placed between two ſeas, this city would be, at once, the center of agriculture, commerce, arts, and ſciences, did not the infatuated hand of Deſpotiſm break every inſtrument of culture and induſtry for twenty leagues round. Conſtantinople, incloſed within the circle of its ancient walls, preſents the traveller with nothing on the land ſide, but an appearance of deſolation: while, towards the ſea, a thouſand veſſels, in the center of an immenſe amphitheatre, are continually arriving from all nations, to bring the tribute which the whole world owes its Metropolis.—Ancient Byzantium, the walls of which ſerve at preſent for the boundaries to the Seraglio of the

the Grand Seignior, placed on the extremity of the cape, which forms and ſhuts in the port, preſents to the eye a foreſt of Cypreſs-trees, the tops of which, ſurmounted by an infinite number of cupolas, covered with lead, and ornamented with gilded globes, form a pyramid with the tower of the Divan, which riſes above them. This group, ſtrongly ſhaded, ſeems to detach itſelf from the reſt of the picture, which preſents no other variety, but that of ſome great ſcattered edifices, that heavily overpower the objects by which they are ſurrounded. The Porte, from the headland of the Seraglio to *The Freſh Waters* (*a*), extends above two thouſand fathoms farther

(*a*) This is the name given to a little river which falls into the ſea at the bottom of the Porte. It waters the valley of Kiathana. The Grand Seignior has there a Kioſk, and Sultan Achmet made ſome pretenſions to an imitation of Marli, by inviting all his court to build on the two hills that riſe near the banks of the river; but theſe edifices have been deſtroyed by the rebels who depoſed that Sultan. The prejudice entertained againſt all European innovations was the pretext for their deſtruction; but the deſire of pillage the real motive.

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in length than the other ſides of that triangle by which Conſtantinople is bounded. On the oppoſite ſhore are the immenſe ſuburbs which incloſe the city of Galata: and theſe preſent a picture, the richneſs of which is ſtill farther increaſed and diverſified, by the ſucceſſive villages which unite and blend on the edge of the Boſphorus, for ſix leagues towards the Black Sea. This chain of buildings, continued on the coaſt of Aſia, rejoins at Scutari; which city, placed at the diſtance of three quarters of a league, oppoſite the entrance of the Porte, affords Conſtantinople, itſelf, the moſt enchanting proſpect. The boats, which inceſſantly traverſe the ſpace that lies between the two cities, ſeem to unite Europe with Aſia. In the morning, other veſſels convey the villagers of the Boſphorus to the labours of the capital, by which they are maintained, and bring them back in the evening. An infinite number of boats are, likewiſe, continually employed for the convenience of the inhabitants; and if we add the tranſports, paſſing and re-paſſing, and carrying thoſe proviſions

to

to the capital which the Black Sea and the Archipelago daily furniſh, together with the activity of foreign commerce, pouring in perpetual ſupplies for elegance and luxury, we ſhall have ſome ſmall idea of the motion which conſtantly agitates this buſy ſcene.

But, though nothing can pleaſe the eye more than the external appearance of Conſtantinople, the charm is diſſolved, immediately, when we enter that city. The narrowneſs of the greater part of the ſtreets, where the over-hanging roofs of the houſes ſcarcely leave a paſſage for the light, the flinty pavement, of which no care is taken, and the want of every kind of cleanlineſs, are among the ſmalleſt faults of this Capital. But I ſhall reſerve the detail of its other inconveniencies, that I may bring them forward in order, and as occaſion may preſent.

As the knowledge of the Turkiſh tongue could alone make me acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of the nation, to acquire it was my firſt care. Nor did I follow the advice of thoſe who wiſhed me to

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begin by reading the accounts of travellers, who had viſited the oriental nations. The labour this might ſave appeared, to me, of leſs importance than the errors into which I might have been led by their miſtakes.

My Turkiſh maſter began by teaching me to write: ſuch is the practice; and my knowledge of drawing made my progreſs rapid. I afterwards read, and then my difficulties increaſed. The ſuppreſſion of the vowels (*b*) may ſuffice to give ſome idea of my firſt perplexities, and the painful and difficult labour I was obliged to undergo; but this was not all (I). The Turks have endeavoured to remedy the poverty of their own language, by the entire adoption of the Arabic and Perſian, and have contrived five alphabets; the

(*b*) The vowels being expreſſed by marks, or points, which are placed over or under the conſonants, their writers frequently neglect to inſert them, and leave them to be ſupplied by the reader: the obſcurity which this often occaſions produces many literary diſputes; but, to avoid any ſuch diſcuſſions, on paſſages of the Koran, that book is never written without vowel-points.

choice

choice of the different characters of which are, nevertheleſs, left to the writer; and thus have thrown ſtill greater impediments in the way of the learner (K). When therefore the whole life of a man is ſcarcely ſufficient to read well, little time remains to chooſe what he ſhall read to his inſtruction and advantage. It is principally to this inconvenience that the ignorance of the Turks (eſpecially with reſpect to the abſtract ſciences) is to be attributed. Entirely employed in neatly delineating and decyphering their characters, all their ingenuity exerts itſelf in theſe kind of difficulties. A few double meanings, or tranſpoſitions of letters, conſtitute the whole of their ſtudies and their literature; and whatever a depraved taſte can invent, to fatigue the mind, becomes their delight, and excites their admiration (L).

My maſter of languages, a Perſian by birth, and a great admirer of poetry, intoxicated himſelf equally with opium and brandy: Two hours every day were ſpent in this agreeable *tete-à-tete*. I inceſſantly endeavoured to make uſe of all the words my

my memory treaſured up; and no ſooner was I in a condition to underſtand him but he aſked me, with an air of haſty curioſity, what that ſcent was he found ſo powerful at entering my apartment. I ſhewed him a flaſk of lavender-water, and, remembering what I had ſeen done by the Commander of the Felucca, conſented he ſhould drink it, which he did; nor was it followed by any inconvenient effects: however, I did not think proper to indulge him any more in the uſe of ſo dangerous a liquor.

The diligence I employed to collect a great number of words, and my eagerneſs to uſe them, ſoon enabled me to expreſs myſelf tolerably; I was already capable of converſing without an interpreter, when M. de Vergennes declared his intention of giving an entertainment, to which all the foreign miniſters, and Europeans ſettled at Conſtantinople, ſhould be invited. This excited the curioſity of ſome Turks of diſtinction, who expreſſed a deſire to be preſent, and I the more willingly undertook to attend them as I perceived I ſhould

ſhould gain a new opportunity to exerciſe myſelf in their language.

I had lately married, and the cloſe connection which exiſted, between the moſt conſiderable perſon among theſe gueſts and my wife's father, increaſed that regard and deſire to ſerve me with which this perſon had been inſpired, by my aſſiduity to inform and improve myſelf. Upon his arrival, when the entertainment was given, he begged me to point out to him Madame de Tott, among the many ladies he perceived, and, immediately attentive to her ſmalleſt motions, he followed her with his eyes, and ſeemed uneaſy if the company hid her one moment from his ſight. Except in this particular, my Turkiſh friends appeared to have loſt all their faculties in aſtoniſhment, at the ſplendor they beheld; and I found their queſtions, which the novelty of the ſcene continually drew from them, no leſs amuſing than inſtructive.

Preſently the ball opened with a minuet: I was immediately aſked who was the Dancer—It is the Swediſh Envoy.—How! ſaid the Turk, with much ſurpriſe, the

the Swediſh Envoy!—The miniſter of a court in alliance with the Sublime-Porte! No; that never can be poſſible—You are miſtaken, look again.—I am not miſtaken: it is him moſt certainly. The Turk was convinced, looked down, ſeemed thoughtful, and kept ſilence to the end of the minuet, when another was begun which gave occaſion to a new queſtion concerning who was the Dancer: that, ſaid I, is the Dutch Ambaſſador.—No, ſaid the Turk gravely, that I ſhall never be brought to believe: I know, continued he, the magnificence of a French Ambaſſador, and, ſurprizing as it ſeems to me, can imagine he may be ſufficiently rich to procure a miniſter of the ſecond order to dance; but what price muſt he give to obtain the ſame ſervice from an Ambaſſador? The difference between them in point of wealth can never be ſo prodigious. I then employed all the Turkiſh words I knew to make him comprehend, that the entertainment was only intended to do honour, and give pleaſure to thoſe miniſters; that they were not hired Dancers, but danced for their amuſement;

ment; and that the French Ambaſſador would himſelf dance; and with no ſmall difficulty perſuaded him to believe me. In the mean time another circumſtance, which the Turk, no doubt, thought of much more conſequence, ſeemed entirely to engage his attention. I have loſt ſight of your wife, ſaid he.—No, there ſhe is —but ſhe is talking to ſome perſon—run, make haſte, and put an end to this new intimacy.—Why ſo? returned I. He then explained himſelf more clearly, and I endeavoured to make him eaſy, when Madame de Tott, continuing her converſation, entered the card-room: the Turk, then, loſing all patience, haſtily aroſe, and almoſt forced me to follow. I ſuffered him to prevail, and the ſight of a number of tables, at which ſeveral gentlemen and ladies converſed and entertained each other, was, no doubt, a different ſcene from that which his friendly fears for my honour made him imagine there was reaſon to expect.

Supper was ſerved, and my friend perceiving that the company were ſeating themſelves at the various tables, was de-

ſirous to depart; anxiety of another and more ſerious nature ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of him.—I preſſed him to ſee the end of the entertainment. It is all over, ſaid he briſkly, they are beginning to drink, let us go; and if I may be allowed to adviſe you, leave them and take your wife with you. I underſtand you, anſwered I, but be pacified, every thing will be conducted with more propriety than you may imagine. By obſtinate entreaties, I prevailed on my curious friends to ſuffer me to lead them round the tables, and ſeat them at that which was prepared for them: a few glaſſes of liquor, by giving them courage, completely perſuaded them to ſtay, and they remained till the morning; but told me, at parting, that if a ſimilar entertainment were given among their countrymen, it could never conclude without a ſcore of murders.

The knowledge I had gained of their manners induced me to form ſuch connections as ſeemed moſt likely to increaſe it. Murad Mollach, of the family of Damat Zada, which, from the time of the conqueſt

conqueſt of Conſtantinople, had, in every generation, given Mufties to the empire, and who was himſelf to be advanced to that dignity, was one with whom I cultivated a very intimate acquaintance. I ſhall often have occaſion to mention him, and what I have to ſay, at the ſame time that it diſplays his particular character, will likewiſe throw a light on that of his nation.

In order to follow, as cloſely, as poſſible, the order of the events, to which I have myſelf been a witneſs, it will be proper to mention thoſe dreadful fires, which lay waſte Conſtantinople too frequently to be paſſed over in ſilence. I ſhall chooſe one of the moſt ſtriking inſtances of the kind; I mean the conflagration which deſtroyed two thirds of this prodigious city, a ſhort time after our arrival.

The hotel of the French Ambaſſador, ſituated in the ſuburbs of Pera, commands an extenſive view of the port and city of Conſtantinople. The fire broke out in the morning at a houſe near the ſea, and the walls of the Seraglio. The wind,

which blew from the north, drove the flames along the walls, and about ſeven o'clock they reached the palace of the Viſir. The Grand Seignior had gone thither, but neither his orders nor the endeavours made to ſave this immenſe edifice could preſerve it; and the embers it afforded, by giving a freſh activity to the flames, continued to extend the fire in the direction of the wind with the greateſt rapidity: it was nevertheleſs hoped, that, when it reached the moſque of Sancta Sophia, that maſſy building would prove its boundary; every exertion was therefore made in that quarter, and the proſpect of being able, there, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the flames became probable, when the lead of the cupola, melted by the flaming atmoſphere, ſtreaming down the ſtony gutters upon the guards and aſſiſtants, formed an open field for the fury of the fire. From that moment all hope of reſtraining it was given up, and it was ſuffered to deſtroy every thing, towards which the wind directed its courſe, quite up to the walls, near the ſea on the other

other ſide of the hill. The conſternation then became general; nevertheleſs it ſeemed ſome conſolation to ſuppoſe it had now reached its utmoſt limits: when the wind, ſuddenly changing to the eaſt, and blowing ſtrong, took this line of fire, of more than twelve hundred fathoms in length, croſſ-wiſe, and, driving it towards the center of the city, divided it into thirteen branches, the roots of which, ſucceſſively uniting, preſently rendered Conſtantinople one continued dreadful ſheet of flame.

The efforts afterwards made, to reſiſt its fury, inſtead of being of any real ſervice, only contributed to increaſe the calamity. An entire regiment of Janiſſaries, employed to pull down the houſes at the end of one of the branches of the conflagration, was incloſed on each ſide, by the rapid advance of the flames. The cries of theſe unhappy wretches, thus miſerably periſhing, with thoſe of the women and children who underwent the ſame fate, the noiſe of the falling buildings, the crackling of pieces of timber, driven into the atmoſphere by the violence of the fire, the tumult of the

Inhabitants, whom the conflagration threatened on every ſide, and who, to ſecure themſelves from the miſeries of want, hazarded their lives to preſerve ſome part of their property, all concurred to form a ſcene of horror which no language can deſcribe.

The rebuilding of the houſes, deſtroyed by this event, aſtoniſhing as it may appear, was not compleated before another accident, of the ſame kind, demoliſhed them a ſecond time: nor is it poſſible to make the Inhabitants take any precautions againſt a calamity by which they ſuffer ſo often. Sultan Oſman, then on the throne, was deſirous of widening ſome of the ſtreets, and making new ones, that aſſiſtance might be given with greater facility in caſes of a like nature; but all the Proprietors of the ground united againſt what they eſteemed an innovation, and claimed the entire poſſeſſion of the eſtates of their fathers: the Government, which only knew to command where it ought to have purchaſed, found itſelf obliged to yield to a reſiſtance which it might eaſily have overcome. Such is Deſpotiſm.

It will readily be believed that the facility with which thefts are committed, under pretence of giving aſſiſtance to houſes near the fire, has often excited Incendiaries to fire them purpoſely; and the Government, endeavouring to remedy this, by enacting that no perſon ſhall attempt to extinguiſh a fire, before the arrival of the officers appointed for that purpoſe, did but increaſe the evil. It ſerved only to give the flames time to ſtrengthen; this law therefore was aboliſhed, and the number of engines augmented, which were diſtributed to the ſeveral guard-houſes; for, before, they were kept by the Superintendants of the different quarters of the city. They were ordered to be immediately ſent on the firſt intelligence of any accident of this nature. But what has reſulted from this regulation? That thoſe who work the engines haſten to make themſelves merry with the unfortunate, and ſprinkle the multitude for their diverſion; that the Guards, familiarized to theſe diſaſters, make them their ſport, and add to the public calamity by ill treating the diſtreſſed; that thoſe employed

to extinguiſh the fire, inconſiderately, throw into it the fuel they ought carefully to remove, and that the rabble plunder on all ſides (*c*).

The Viſir and all the great officers of the Porte are obliged to haſten, on the firſt notice, to any place where the fire breaks out, in order to give ſuch directions as may be thought neceſſary; and, if it increaſes to any great degree, the Grand Seignior himſelf never fails to go. The means of his conveyance are always at hand; horſes ſtand ſaddled, and boats are kept in readineſs both by day and night for this very purpoſe. The great officers likewiſe

(*c*) Their law, to deter others from this atrocious ſpecies of robbery, ſentences the thief to be immediately thrown into the flames; but, as they ſo often ſee a multitude of unhappy wretches periſh, accidentally, in the ſame manner, by the frequency and rapid violence of theſe fires, they conſider the danger of ſuffering ſuch a death as nothing but what they are every day expoſed to, without the commiſſion of any crime, and the death itſelf as little different from dying in their beds. Puniſhments, however ſevere, cannot alone eſtabliſh order; that is only the produce of an enlightened vigilance, to which Deſpotiſm is an utter ſtranger.

take

take the ſame precautions, and frequently are called up in their ſleep on theſe occaſions, which are not ſeldom.

Certain watchmen, called *Paſſevans*, are appointed to the different quarters, whoſe buſineſs it is to give notice if any fire makes its appearance; in which caſe they run through their diſtrict, beat the pavement with great ſtaves, headed with iron, and wake the inhabitants by the cry of *Yanjenvar!* (There is a fire!) and tell in what part of the city it appears. A very lofty tower, built in the Palace of the Aga of the Janiſſaries, commands a proſpect of all Conſtantinople, as does another at Galata; in each of which a watchman is placed, whoſe vigilance is employed on the ſame object. From theſe towers an alarm is given by beating on great drums, which is preſently ſpread a long way round, and brings together great numbers but too deeply intereſted in the accident, who often arrive too late, at their ſeveral ſhops, to prevent their being either burnt or plundered.

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In order to preſerve their moſt valuable merchandize from the flames, and ſecure it from pillage, in caſe either of fire or an inſurrection, the *Beſeſtins* have been built, either by certain companies of merchants, or individuals, who let out the magazines. Theſe edifices, which ſerve at the ſame time for ſtreets, are conſtructed with ſtone, and vaulted with brick throughout; they all contain commodities of nearly the ſame kind, and though that of the Goldſmith may be the moſt valuable it is not for the taſte, or goodneſs of the workmanſhip. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of the induſtry of the Turks.

After the dreadful event I have juſt deſcribed, the reſidence of the Miniſters of the Grand Seignior was transferred (until the palace of the Viſir could be rebuilt) to that of a Sultana which the fire had ſpared; and M. de Vergennes, who at firſt had only the title of Envoy from France, having obtained that of Ambaſſador, prepared himſelf to deliver his new letters of credence.

Said-Effendi, who had been Ambaſſador in France, was then Grand Viſir, and we im-

immediately went to his Levee; we did not expect an audience, from the Grand Seignior, till the ſecond Tueſday following, as the firſt was too near at hand (*d*); but the Sultan, who was then incognito at the Porte (*e*), ſignified to M. de Vergennes that he would receive him the next day. This prince, of a violent and haſty diſpoſition, but weak, impatient, and curious to an exceſs, exhibited to us, at our return, a very ſingular ſcene. We found him diſguiſed like a Profeſſor of the Law, and

(*d*) The Grand Seignior never gives audience to Ambaſſadors but on a Tueſday, on which day the Divan is aſſembled; this council is held on the ground floor of a ſquare tower which bears the ſame name. The Viſir, the great Judges, of Europe and Aſia, the grand Treaſurer, &c. ſit on benches round the hall; and above the ſeat of the Viſir, facing the entrance, is a little window, grated, and raiſed about nine or ten feet, from whence the Grand Seignior may hear all that paſſes; but where he cannot, as they wiſh to have it believed, either be aſſaſſinated, or aſſaſſinate.

(*e*) This appellation is given to that part of the city where the Viſir reſides, in which all public buſineſs is tranſacted, and where the other great officers of the ſtate remain, during the day, to ſuperintend the affairs of their ſeveral departments.

only

only accompanied by his *Selictar* (*f*) and *Divitdar* (*g*), who appeared as *Tchoadars*, or footmen; he had ſtopt in a ſtreet to ſee us go by, and as we paſſed on, into the *Atmeydan* or Hippodrome, we preſently perceived he had overtaken us, and was running by our ſide; but, ſlackening his pace, when he came up to the Ambaſſador, he accompanied him to the end of that place, and then, beginning to run again, croſſed the ſtreet, in front of the proceſſion, and, entering at one of the gates of the Seraglio garden, went out of it again near the ſea, to meet us where we were to take water. There he remained till our departure, and then returned once more to his Palace, when we ſaw him no more.

I remarked that, during the whole time this prince kept us company in the Hippodrome, where we were ſurrounded by numbers whom curioſity had drawn together, no one gave the leaſt ſign or intimation which could diſcover him, though

(*f*) The ſword-bearer, who executes the office of high chamberlain and captain of the guards.

(*g*) Secretary or keeper of the Imperial cabinet.

every

every one knew him, and trembled at his preſence: but Deſpotiſm tyrannizes over every thing, and forces its ſlaves to diſſemble even the very fear itſelf inſpires.

I ſhall not enter into a minute detail of the ceremonial of an audience from the Grand Seignior: other travellers have ſo fully treated that ſubject that I ſhall have no occaſion to mention the different humiliations which Ambaſſadors meet with, on theſe occaſions. This would lead me to diſcuſs the means of avoiding them, and I am only deſcribing the manners of the Turks.

One thing however was remarkable in this audience, which was that, the Grand Seignior, inſtead of directing the Viſir to tranſmit his anſwer, addreſſed himſelf immediately to M. de Vergennes; to whom the *Dragoman* of the Porte tranſlated it, in a manner expreſſive of the greateſt reſpect for that Ambaſſador, and no ways reſtricted to the cuſtomary *etiquette*. This anſwer could not have been premeditated, but muſt be attributed to a ſort of affability to which the Emperor, on this occaſion, condeſcended.

Sultan

Sultan Osman, otherwise little capable of that commanding spirit so necessary to a Despot, supplied that defect by an habitual impatience and hasty passions. The Selictar-Pacha, young, full of confidence, and arrogantly elated with the favour of his master, who had raised him to the dignity of Visir, thought he might safely, without fear or moderation, commit the most cruel extortions, of which the multiplied examples excited a general murmur. These complaints, which always arrive at the throne with too much difficulty, easily reached the Sultan, in the many excursions he made incognito. Enraged at his favourite, he summoned him to the Seraglio, in the presence of the Mufti, whom he had sent for on purpose. So violent was his anger that he would have struck him, himself, with a mace, if the Head of the Law had not interposed. This prevention of the effects of his fury only served still more to irritate the Sultan; nor was it long before he sacrificed his victim. The Visir, dismissed from the interior apartment, was followed by an order, and arrested

between

between the two gates (*b*); the Selictar Aga took from him the ſeal of the empire, his head was cut off on the ſpot, and expoſed in a ſilver charger at the entrance of the ſecond court, before the leaſt ſuſpicion was entertained, without, of the Miniſter's diſgrace. There was alſo a label to this purport—SUCH IS THE FATE OF THOSE WHO ABUSE THE EMPEROR'S FAVOUR.

The Ulemats, that celebrated body of lawyers, who always ſeize on the remains of authority, when enfeebled, to oppreſs with it the ſovereign power itſelf, reſtrained till then by the favour which the Viſir enjoyed, believed that, after his death, they might tyrannize with impunity: in fact, the daring liberties they took, in conſequence of the Sultan's weakneſs, could not fail, at length, to incite his anger which now exerted all it's fury againſt the Mufti.

(*b*) The paſſage from the firſt court of the Seraglio to the ſecond, is ſhut in by two gates, between which are apartments, conſtructed in the towers, which flank that entrance; ſome of them are inhabited by Porters, and the principal is called *Dgellat Odaſſi*, or the chamber of Executioners.

Fana-

Fanaticiſm, which every where eſtabliſhes laws, either ſanguinary or abſurd, and often both, has enacted, in Turkey, in favour of the Ulemats, that their goods ſhall never be confiſcated, nor themſelves put to death but by being bruiſed in a mortar. The honour of being treated in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner may not, perhaps, be ſenſibly felt by every one; but it is eaſy to perceive that examples, of ſo horrible a puniſhment, could not but be rare; ſince theſe Profeſſors of the Law had too much power to let them multiply. It was, without doubt, the confidence of eſcaping unpuniſhed which led the Mufti to hear with haughtineſs the menaces of his maſter; and this inſolence irritated Sultan Oſman to ſuch a degree that he ordered the mortars to be replaced, which, having been long neglected, had been thrown down, and almoſt covered with earth. This order, alone, produced a ſurpriſing effect. The body of Ulemats, juſtly terrified, ſubmitted, and the famous Racub Pacha, advanced to the office of Viſir, governed without oppoſition.

Racub united much ſtrength of character, with a moſt inſinuating diſpoſition. Never

Never was there a Viſir, who poſſeſſed talents more perfectly adapted to the poſt he held; he knew, at once, artfully to corrupt and ſternly intimidate the moſt daring; ever perfidious, ever malicious, always unjuſt, but always able, and poſſeſſed of great ſelf-command, he conſidered men of little conſequence, and their lives of none.

This miniſter had formerly been Pacha of Cairo, a poſt the leaſt fitting for him of any in the Empire. The ungovernable irregularities of the Mameluke Beys, ſupported by force, left him no reſource but that of corruption to maintain his authority, without being the leſs expoſed to danger. An attempt had been made on his life, by a piſtol, diſcharged at him in his own Divan, juſt before the Grand Seignior advanced him to the dignity of Viſir (M). Racub united all the talents neceſſary for Deſpotiſm, with a uſeful knowledge of the true intereſts of the Empire, which he had acquired at the treaty of Belgrade, during which he held the poſt of *Mektoobtchy* (*i*).

(*i*) *Mektoobtchy* is a Miniſter of the ſecond order; a kind of firſt ſecretary to the prime Miniſter.

The different employments through which this Miniſter had ſucceſſively paſſed permitting no one to expect ever to become abſolutely neceſſary to him, he found every body ready to obey his will; and it was preſently remarked, that a habit of authority, to which he had long been accuſtomed, had cauſed him to give his orders in a manner that appeared ſtrangely trivial and careleſs.

The interval, between the death of the Selictar Pacha and the advancement of Racub to his poſt, had been filled by a great number of Viſirs, ſome of whom did not remain fifteen days in office. We were tired of the frequent audiences which theſe revolutions occaſioned; it was however neceſſary to pay one to the new Miniſter. The cuſtomary ceremonies on theſe occaſions were over, and Racub continued to diſcourſe familiarly with the Ambaſſador, when the Muzur-Aga, or high Provoſt, coming into the hall, and approaching the Viſir, whiſpered ſomething in his ear; and we obſerved that all the anſwer he received from him was a ſlight horizontal wave with

with his hand; after which the Viſir, inſtantly reſuming an agreeable ſmile, continued the converſation for ſome time longer. We then left the hall of audience, and came to the foot of the great ſtair-caſe, where we remounted our horſes; here nine heads, cut off, and placed in a row on the outſide of the firſt gate, completely explained the ſign which the Viſir had made uſe of in our preſence.

The inutility of thus haſtening an execution, which it is always eaſy enough to have performed, was almoſt ſufficient to make us imagine that this had been contrived, in order to give us a high idea of the prompt juſtice of the new Miniſter; though we perceived nothing in it but cruelty, the great ſupport of Deſpotiſm, with which it cruſhes, but knows not how to puniſh: and this was the mode to which Racub always recurred.

Under a deſpotic government, the exiſtence of any perſon is neceſſarily precarious: No one can be ambitious without deſpiſing his own life; and what regard

can he have for the lives of others? Yet, though the moſt eminent men of the Empire were obliged to give way to the uſe which the Viſir made of his political principles, it was reſerved for a woman, of the lower order of the people, to reſiſt him with impunity. But, as the ſedition, which ſhe excited, took its riſe from a failure of the ſupplies of proviſion, on which the city of Conſtantinople ſubſiſts, it will be proper to explain that part of the Turkiſh Adminiſtration which concerns thoſe ſupplies.

The Grand Seignior publicly monopolizes the corn, and with it furniſhes the capital. He receives this commodity from the maritime Provinces, which are ſubject to a kind of tax called *Ichtirach* (*k*). It conſiſts in an obligation to deliver to the Sultan, at a very low rate, a certain quantity of corn, which he cauſes to be

(*k*) The produce of this monopoly goes to the public treaſury; and the adminiſtration is truſted to the *Teſterdar*, or Grand Treaſurer.

conveyed

conveyed to his magazines by veſſels hired at his expence: he afterwards ſells it out retail to the Bakers, who are obliged to take it at the price his Highneſs thinks proper to fix. The conſequence of this management is that Corn is forbidden to be exported, that the officers elude the Prohibition by every ſpecies of Knavery, that a great part of the Grain, laid up in the magazines, and taken little care of, is frequently ſpoiled, and the remainder rendered unwholeſome, and that Famine concludes the long catalogue of Evils produced by this wretched Policy.

With this calamity was Conſtantinople threatened. The Bread, though diminiſhed in weight, was conſiderably advanced in price; it already began to be adulterated, nor was there a proſpect of obtaining any freſh Corn, till the arrival of ſeventy ſail of Ships which were expected from the Black Sea. But when it was publicly known that theſe Veſſels were loſt, having been caſt away, through miſſing, in the night-time, the mouth of the Straits, the whole City was ſeized with a conſterna-

tion; and it will not be believed, without horror, that this event was occaſioned by a ſpecies of Abuſe which would not appear credible, were it not ſtill too frequently put in practice.

Two Light-houſes, very lofty, and placed at the mouth of the Black Sea, on the head-lands in Europe and Aſia, have been erected, to point out to Sailors the entrance into the Straits. The oil they conſume is furniſhed by Government, and perſons are appointed to light them up, and keep them in order. Yet this ſame Government permits the fabrication of Charcoal all over the Coaſt; though it is eaſy to perceive that, under that Pretext, the Inhabitants frequently kindle Fires, which in bad weather deceive and miſlead the Mariner. It ought to be likewiſe remembered that the keepers of the two Towers frequently hide the lights, in order to procure Shipwrecks, which they very well know how to turn to their advantage (*l*).

(*l*) When men once give themſelves up to act unjuſtly, they ſoon make a ſport of their Crimes. One diſorder always produces another; and that ſtill more

The firſt expedient made uſe of to remedy this misfortune was to iſſue orders, throughout the Empire, to ſeize on all the Grain reſerved by the farmers to ſow the Land, not conſidering for how many future Calamities ſuch a meaſure (though it might procure a preſent ſupply) muſt lay the foundation. But Deſpotiſm never extends its Views beyond the preſent moment. Beans, and other farinaceous vegetables, were added to the mixture of different ſpecies of Corn, thus procured; and Avarice, which takes advantage of every thing, ſeized on whatever was eatable to adulterate the Quality, without ſufficiently increaſing the Quantity.

The Bakers, conſtantly beſieged by a half famiſhed Mob, applied for Guards. One cake, only, of ill baked dough was delivered out to each perſon; and the Turks who diſtributed it, ſword in hand, committed all ſorts of Diſorders.

more certainly, if the Laws ſet the example. Ought not every Legiſlator to be alarmed at this conſideration?

In this diſtreſs, which had cauſed the Rice to be hoarded in the ſame manner, the firmneſs of the Viſir ſtill maintained a kind of tranquillity in the City; when a Woman, of the poorer ſort of people, old, but courageous, raiſed the Rabble of the quarter in which ſhe lived, and preſently gathered a large multitude, who, directing their courſe towards the magazines of rice, inſulted the Guards as they paſſed along, who had demanded the reaſon of their aſſembling together in ſuch a riotous manner. The Janiſſary Aga, or General of the Infantry, repairs to the ſpot with a numerous body of men, but is preſently repulſed by the ſtones thrown at him; the Rice-magazines are forced, and the Pillage begins, when the Grand Viſir himſelf arrives; the old Woman then advances towards him, menaces him with inſolence, defies the power of his ſoldiers, harangues him with intrepidity, and perſuades him, or rather makes him feel, that it is neceſſary to give way, obtains a portion of rice for each Combatant, and diſmiſſes her victorious Bands.

Never-

Nevertheleſs, this exceſs of Riot brought on a momentary good Order, and furniſhed Commerce for a time with a ſupply of proviſions. The Famine ceaſed, but the maladies produced by unwholeſome food, mixing with and ſtrengthening the ſymptoms of the Plague, which began to appear, that dreadful diſorder commenced its Ravages, and extended them through all the Empire.

The reſearches which have been hitherto made, into the nature of this diſtemper, have only produced Opinions which are ſelf contradictory, or unſupported by Facts. It has been thought that it came originally from Egypt, but it will be hereafter ſeen, that the obſervations I have made, abſolutely deſtroy this Conjecture.

However, there is no difficulty to be made with reſpect to the cauſes which preſerve and propagate it. Both the one and the other may be referred to the dealers in Old-Clothes, at Conſtantinople; and the practice, which ſcarce any body avoids, of preſerving in their cheſts the dreſſes, even thoſe that have furs on them, of perſons who have died of this diſtemper,

and which certainly is the ſureſt method imaginable to preſerve the ſeeds of the Diſorder; which will infallibly manifeſt itſelf in thoſe Individuals whoſe humours are moſt proper for its reception, and make the moſt rapid progreſs in that ſeaſon of the year when the juices are in a kind of fermentation.

Thus it firſt began to appear on the approach of the Spring which followed the Famine. It carried off, in that year, one hundred and fifty thouſand perſons in the City of Conſtantinople only; and the Dead amounted to a number ſufficient to authorize the putting up of Public Prayers, to implore the Almighty for the removal of this terrible Scourge. For it is to be remarked that the Turks bear with it patiently, till the daily liſt of Burials, which go out at the Gate of Adrinople alone, increaſes to 999; but that is the boundary of their reſignation.

No other notice is taken of this diſorder, either at its breaking out or its different periods, but by an obſervation of the frequency of the Burials. It interrupts

rupts no buſineſs, and this neglect, by maintaining the communication, increaſes, ſtill more, the progreſs of the evil. Nevertheleſs, no one accuſes the air of contributing to ſpread it, and Cuſtom, which familiariſes us with the greateſt diſaſters, and moſt certain dangers, procures ſuccours for the Sick, as eaſily as if it were only a ſlight epidemic Fever. The Turks likewiſe find an imaginary ſecurity in their ſtrong belief in Predeſtination.

The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, as they are not blinded by the ſame extravagant prejudice, have diſcovered a kind of Remedy, which they ſeem to uſe with conſiderable ſucceſs; but not, however, till the firſt violence of the diſeaſe is abated. But it has been remarked that each of theſe Nations makes uſe of a particular Regimen, which agrees with it alone. This ſingularity muſt certainly be attributed to the different nature of their food; but perhaps it is ſafeſt to doubt of the Fact, though many Phyſicians affirm it as truth. I for my part will not warrant it.

The

The Europeans are the only people who take any precautions againſt the Contagion; though, by being too much accuſtomed to it, they often neglect them, but never without the greateſt Danger. Thoſe whoſe affairs do not oblige them to a conſtant reſidence in the City retire into the Country, as this malady, commencing in the Spring, commonly laſts till the approach of Winter. Prince's Iſland, ſituated five leagues from Conſtantinople, at the entrance of the Gulph formed by the ſea of Marmora, near the ancient Nice, is the retreat of which the French have been a long time fond. They are now ſpread through different Villages on the European ſide of the Strait; and thoſe of Tarapia and Buyukdera contain, at preſent, the greater part of the Ambaſſadors and Merchants of all Nations. The Village of Belgrade, rendered remarkable by Lady Montague, had long enjoyed this preference; but it has ſince loſt it, by the air becoming unwholeſome.

I had choſen the little Village of Keffely Keuy, for the place of my retirement, during the Plague I have juſt mentioned.

tioned. This Village is not far from Buyukdera, where Murad Mollach reſided during the Summer, and took precautions against the Diſorder, to the great offence of True Believers. I went to ſee him. His love of Intoxication, which I could gratify, and my eager deſire of inſtruction, with which it was likewiſe in his power to oblige me, ſoon formed between us a very intimate connection.

This Effendi, born in opulence, ſon of the Mufti, and advanced afterwards himſelf to the Pontificate, acknowledged no other Law but his own Will.

Encompaſſed by a numerous tribe of Domeſtics, ever ready to execute his orders, he had aſſumed to himſelf the entire Property and Juriſdiction of the Village of Buyukdera. He had likewiſe extended his Authority over two others, that are contiguous; all the favours they received, or vexations they ſuffered, depended upon him; and the Government, far from oppoſing this Uſurpation, ſent, unredreſſed, away, thoſe who dared to make Complaints; and added to their misfortunes

misfortunes that of having murmured to no purpoſe, as well as the danger of being ſuppoſed ſo to have done. This facility, of ſeizing on the Property of others, had long furniſhed Murad Mollach with ſums proportionable to his expences; and never did any man better know how to multiply them. I have known him, ſince he was Kadileſker (*m*), poſſeſs nine houſes, in each of which he had a wife, children, ſervants, a kitchen for their uſe, labourers working all around, neighbours who dreaded him, and creditors who fled his preſence.

Though Murad had only the title of Mollach of Mecca (*n*), when I commenced

(*m*) Kadileſker; this word ſhould be pronounced Kadi-el-aſker, which three words, ſignify Judge of the Troops. There are two who bear this title, one for Europe, and one for Aſia; this laſt ranks before the other; they are the two chief Judges, and every thing is ſubject to their juriſdiction.—— Under a military Government all the Subjects are Soldiers.

(*n*) Mollach of Mecca is a title which is only arrived at by rank, and which prepares the way for that of Stambol Effendiſſi, a kind of Governor, or Lieutenant

my acquaintance with him, he nevertheleſs was a perſon of conſiderable conſequence, and received viſits from thoſe in Power, with whom it was neceſſary for him, likewiſe, to keep certain meaſures.

The Boſtandgi Bachi, who, of all the exterior Officers of the Seraglio, is moſt frequently in the preſence of his Maſter, and whoſe duty it is to give him an account of all irregularities and diſorders, and who frequently goes his rounds to diſcover them, in one of his maritime excurſions, happened to come as far as Buyukdera. Here, making a viſit to the Mollach, one of the ſervants told him, he had walked out towards the meadows, and the Boſtandgi Bachi went to find him thither. Immediately all poſſible haſte was made to inform the Effendi of his coming. He was then with me, and had made ſo free with

Lieutenant of the Police of Conſtantinople; but this poſt, as well as that of Kadileſker, and that of Mufti, follows no particular order of ſucceſſion, but is diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the Grand Seignior, provided the perſon promoted has paſſed through the third and ſecond, before arriving at the firſt.

ſome bottles of Maraſquin, that he was in no condition to attend to any thing elſe. His ſervant arrived, and informed him that the Boſtandgi Bachi was in the next field. I endeavoured to deviſe ſome expedient that might prevent an Interview, of which I feared the conſequences in his Situation. He perceived my anxiety, and ſaid to me, ſmiling, you ſhall ſee, preſently, how much the power of moral cauſes exceeds that of phyſical. Nevertheleſs he ſuffered himſelf to be ſupported by his ſervants, till he came to the gate of the ſtreet. There, he puſhes them from him, walks with firmneſs, enters haſtily into the Moſque, which was not ten paces off, and, with the utmoſt effrontery, orders the Boſtandgi Bachi to be told, that he was at Prayers. A moment after, he goes to this Officer, in waiting for him, receives his Homage, takes leave of him, and returns, laughing at the fears I had entertained.

Murad Mollach, too much accuſtomed to Exceſs, was not eaſy to perſuade. He nevertheleſs yielded to my entreaties, that he would be more moderate in the uſe of liquor,

liquor, and conſented only to make himſelf merry: our converſations, therefore, became more entertaining. From them I learned what I have already ſaid, concerning the Women; and thoſe whom he kept, by making frequent viſits to Madame de Tott, ſtill farther increaſed the information I had procured on that head. I was deſirous of ſeeing, with my own eyes, the fair Flock, of which the Shepherd took ſo little care, and entered, unexpectedly, into the apartment where they were. The outcry was general, but only thoſe who were Old, hurried themſelves, to cover their faces: however, I thought it great vanity, in the Young-ones, to make no more haſte.

It may eaſily be imagined, that Murad Mollach, ſoon diſguſted with thoſe he had, only increaſed the number to procure new Slaves, of whom he ſoon loſt ſight. I was one day with him, in one of his Kioſks; we were drinking coffee, and I was endeavouring to prove to him, that, ſince his Syſtem of Predeſtination did not oblige a Turk to ſtay in a houſe that was on fire,

he might, with equal propriety, remove from the City when the Plague broke out. Our Diſpute grew warm, when a little Child, about four years old, with his feet naked, and indifferently clothed, came to kiſs his hand. The Mollach played with him, made me take notice of him, and aſked him who was his Father. You are, replied he, briſkly. How! Am I your father. Why what is your name? Juſuf. And who is your Mother? Katidgee. Oh, Right; Katidgee? Truly ſaid the Effendi, coldly, I did not know him. How ſaid I! Not know your own Children! Nor their Mothers! With what then do you concern yourſelf?

The MOLLACH (N).

With very little I confeſs: but you muſt confeſs, alſo, that the great affection which you reproach me with wanting, is ſomewhat fantaſtical. Is it not born of Illuſion, and nouriſhed by Self-love? Why ſhould I deſire any thing, which flows from ſuch a Source? I will not. However, I have Curioſity, which ſupplies the place of Feeling.

The

The BARON.

I believe it does the ſame in many others, and it is what I ſhould pardon, were it not excluſive; but to love Nothing, not even one's Children, is to paſs our lives in melancholy Secluſion, and frightful Solitude.

The MOLLACH.

Mere ſounding words, which prove nothing, nor convey any real idea. Let us be ingenuous; all men have the ſame Senſations: it is not their Pleaſures which differ, but their Prejudices; for from their various manners and cuſtoms, reſult moral ſenſations, by which their phyſical are modified. Let us not confound them. You would not rank the little regulations of an inconſiderable ſociety, with the eternal Laws of the Almighty.

The BARON.

Do you then ſuppoſe, that we cannot believe in the reality of paternal affection, without making ſo incompetent, and abſurd a Compariſon?

The MOLLACH.

We ought always to believe what we feel, and experience as many Senſations beneficial to us as we can; but we ought not therefore to imagine, that whatever we feel is ſo much a part of our Nature that it would be unnatural not to experience ſuch a Senſation. We have juſt agreed, that there are Senſations purely moral, which, acting on the phyſical, overrule them, though they are, in their own nature, diſtinct; we indulge in, habituate, and deliver ourſelves up to them; and it is poſſible they really may be very valuable. You ſee with what freedom and impartiality I treat your Prejudices, do you treat ours with the like. It will not be difficult to perceive, that the facility with which we ſatisfy all our Deſires leads to indifference; it is the fault of our Cuſtoms, and we cannot change them; they procure us benefit without labour, and labour without benefit, and thus counterbalance each other; but while I have Curioſity, I ſhall not be ſo unhappy as you think me.

We

We may perceive that Murad extended this Curioſity beyond the bounds preſcribed; but it was what his Metaphyſics did not pretend to juſtify; he was contented to uſe it freely.

Among the names of his numerous domeſtics that of Haidout Muſtapha had often ſtruck me. The firſt word ſignifies Robber, which, indeed, was formerly the profeſſion of Muſtapha; he ſtill thought himſelf honoured with the title, and his maſter commanded him to relate to me the Crimes he had committed. The narration of a hundred heroic Actions could not have been made with more dignity, or ſeeming modeſty, than this Villain employed, in recounting the Aſſaſſinations, and infamous tranſactions, which he himſelf had performed. A great number of the Servants gathered round him, to enjoy this recital, for which they gave him great applauſe; and when he had concluded, the Mollach ſaid to me, you muſt allow this Scoundrel has a great deal of Courage. He has at leaſt, ſaid I, a great deal of Impudence, thus to brave the Laws, by

a confeſſion of ſuch Crimes; and without your protection, I ſuppoſe, he would ſoon receive a ſuitable reward. By no means, coolly replied the Mollach, the Law has nothing to do with him; he was not detected while he exerciſed his Profeſſion, and he cannot be puniſhed now he follows it no longer (*o*).

This very man, ſome time after, being entruſted by his maſter with the care of a kind of a ſheep-fold, had a Companion in the employment, who was found killed with a hatchet, in the hut in which they both uſed to lie. Haidout Muſtapha came, with the utmoſt effrontery, to announce the diſcovery of his death; nor did any one doubt but he was himſelf the Murderer, though the fact was certainly too recent for him to make it his boaſt. Yet the Mollach, who entertained the ſame opinion, kept him ſtill in his ſervice, and

(*o*) Robbers, in Turkey, are like tradeſmen who want their freedom; if they eſcape from juſtice, and can accumulate, by their crimes, a ſufficient fortune to purchaſe themſelves a place, they are at entire liberty to exerciſe their talents: a Pachalik qualifies them to ſet up any where.

was accompanied, wherever he went, by this *brave* man, who gave ſuch frequent proofs of his courage.

The inconveniences of hunting, or ſhooting, in a country where Raſcals are more plentiful than Partridges, occaſioned me to prefer the amuſement of fiſhing, which might be enjoyed with greater tranquillity. I frequently indulged myſelf in this pleaſure, by paſſing over, in a boat, to a bay on the Aſiatic coaſt, near the mouth of the Black Sea, and beyond the laſt Forts the Turks had then erected in that part. Some young perſons accompanied me, and each one took his Gun, to kill, as we went along, ſome Gabians, or Sea Gulls, a kind of aquatic Bird, with which the Straits are covered. The management of our boat was committed to two Greek-boatmen, who were likewiſe of uſe to bait our hooks, and throw the nets. There were ſix of us who carried Fire-arms; and the expectation of meeting with more of theſe Birds made us croſs the Straits, to the coaſt of Aſia; where they are found in the greateſt plenty, on account of the Currents. We

rowed leiſurely on, diſcharging our pieces at them, and paſſed the Caſtle on the Aſiatic ſhore, oppoſite which I ſhot a Gabian. An Officer of the Boſtandgi's, who, having ſquatted down at the foot of the Tower he commanded, was gravely ſmoaking his Pipe, in all the Pride of Authority, made us a ſignal to approach the ſhore; and my Boatmen took care it ſhould not paſs unnoticed. I aſked him what he wanted? To ſpeak to you, ſaid he. But I have nothing to ſay to you, replied I: I am going to fiſh, in ſuch a place; if you like a walk, you may come there, and I will hear what you have to ſay. The Turk, then, affecting a kind of reſpect for me, declared he had no buſineſs with any body but my Boatmen, who were preſently horribly terrified, fearing they ſhould be made reſponſible for the diſcharge of the Gun cloſe to the Caſtle, but ſoon recovered their courage, on my promiſing them protection. I again invited the Turk to come and ſee us fiſh, if he had ſo much curioſity; and piqued, no doubt, at the contemptuous air with which I ſpoke, he coldly anſwered, I will

I will come and find you: after which we kept on our courſe.

Among the number of young perſons who accompanied me, one alone appeared uneaſy at the anſwer of the Turk. Born in the country, he had imbibed, with his mother's milk, a puſillanimous fear, with which we diverted ourſelves, by ſaying every moment, look there, the Boſtandgis are coming; though none of us really believed they would come, nor could perceive any reaſon, of ſufficient conſequence, why they ſhould: however, we had ſcarcely entered the Bay, where, as it contained great numbers of fiſh, we expected ſo much ſport, before we actually perceived their Guard-boat approaching.

It was then neceſſary to reſolve on a vigorous Oppoſition; this might have ſerious Conſequences, but we were ſo far from all aſſiſtance that we muſt either conquer or be conquered. No time was left for heſitation: I immediately aſſumed the Command, and ſuffered not my orders to be diſputed. I firſt directed my Boatmen to throw their nets and lines, that the Enemy might perceive

ceive we were not intimidated. I likewiſe aſſured my two Greeks they ſhould come to no harm, and, our Arms being prepared, I ordered the Muſquetry to level their pieces at the Boſtandgis, as ſoon as ever I ſhould pay that compliment to their Officer; but ſtrictly charged them not to fire before me. Theſe diſpoſitions being made, and the Turkiſh-boat not far off, I thought it ſuitable to the Dignity of an European to advance; and its Commander, equally zealous for the Turkiſh dignity, interpreting my approach as a mark of my ſubmiſſion, laid upon his oars, to wait till we came up. I immediately changed my meaſures, and rowed from him; and on his inviting me to continue to come nearer, told him, if he had any thing to ſay, he might come to me. All in good time, replied he; and as we kept our boat with its ſide towards the prow of his, which was much larger, he ordered his Rowers to run foul of us, and ſink us; which they would moſt certainly have done, if I had not preſented my piece, all my company

pany at the ſame time preſenting theirs, and called out to him that, if he took another ſtroke with his oars, I would kill him as I had done the Gabian. The ſight of our levelled pieces immediately made theſe Valiant Fellows put the helm about, and lie upon their oars; after which, keeping the Enemy at a reſpectful diſtance, we opened the Conference.

I had ſome difficulty, at firſt, to procure myſelf the principal part in this converſation; for the Turk, when I began to ſpeak, ſaid to the boatmen, this Frank does not underſtand me, let me hear from you what he has to ſay. Without a knowledge of the wretched Servility in which the Greeks are kept by the Turks, it will be impoſſible to form an idea of the inſolence of thoſe who managed my boat, when they dared to tell the Turkiſh officer, I ſpoke his language better than he did; at laſt, therefore, he was forced to addreſs himſelf to me.

The TURK (O).

What! Has Conſtantinople ſubmitted to the yoke of the Infidels? By what right do you reſiſt the Guard, appointed to watch over the ſecurity, and preſerve the good order of the Straits?

The EUROPEAN.

And by what right do you violate the engagements of your Maſter, by moleſting his beſt Friends?

The TURK.

I do not moleſt you; but ſhooting is allowed to no one, without permiſſion. Shew me the order by which you are authorized.

The EUROPEAN.

When did you ever ſee Hares killed by people in a boat? I am fiſhing, and that amuſement is free.

The TURK.

No, nothing is free here; not even the liberty of rowing on the water; and I have

have a long Firman (*p*) to which you muſt ſubmit.

The EUROPEAN.

Yes, when I have ſeen it.

The TURK.

You cannot read it, were I to ſhew it you.

The EUROPEAN.

Better than you can. But I perceive how it is; you have no ſuch thing, and only endeavour to diſturb us by falſe pretences. We are perfectly in order.

The TURK.

How! Have you not fired a Gun oppoſite the Imperial Fortreſs?

The EUROPEAN.

Oppoſite you I have; but not oppoſite the Fortreſs: unleſs you call the wretched Pigeon-Houſe, near which you were fitting, by that name, and which cer-

(*p*) An order iſſued from the Porte in the name of the Grand Seignior.

tainly

tainly has no claim to be treated with this profound reſpect. But I will make you repent your inſolence: the Boſtandgi Bachi is one of my particular Friends, and I will deſire him to give you the Baſtinado, before my door, juſt to afford me a little amuſement.

The TURK.

Why are you ſo angry? Have I done you any harm?

The EUROPEAN.

You have not; but thanks to my Gun, of which you were afraid.

The TURK.

Cannot one talk to you, and endeavour to explain this miſunderſtanding, without your putting yourſelf in a Paſſion? I am not in a paſſion, but am your Friend; behave in the ſame manner to me, and purſue your Diverſion.

The EUROPEAN.

Oh! I underſtand you; you would be very glad to get a Piaſtre or two; but you will not have them.

The

The TURK.

What? Nothing!

The EUROPEAN.

No: nothing but the Rain, with which you will be ſoaked, unleſs you make haſte back to your Pigeon-houſe.

This adventure ended by the retreat of the Aſſailants, and, having happened in the ſight of many Turkiſh Fiſhermen, who dwelt upon the Coaſt, procured us, on their part, the moſt favourable reception; for we found them, when we landed, much more obliging than uſual. I did not fail, at my return, to prefer a Complaint to the Boſtandgi Bachi againſt the Officer, who was commanded to aſk my pardon, and we became very good Friends.

Conſtantinople was that year attacked by one of thoſe winds, ſo much dreaded throughout Aſia, called by the Turks *Cham-Yely:* the wind of Damaſcus. It blows moderately from the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and obſcures the Atmoſphere with a thick Earth-Fog, which contributes more than

than the exceſſive Heat to ſtifle thoſe that are expoſed to it, who are unable to breathe, without laying their mouths from time to time cloſe to the Earth. Its influence is felt even within the houſes; and I was obliged, during the three days that this wind laſted, frequently to apply my mouth to the wall, in order to draw my breath with more eaſe. Were it not for this wind, which blows very ſeldom, the climate of Conſtantinople would enhance the Beauty of its well choſen Situation. Scarcely any winds blow there but from the ſouth and north; they always ſucceed each other, and frequently meet at the Cape of the Seraglio. The laſt have a kind of periodical conſtancy in the Summer; they ceaſe blowing at Sun-ſet, and do not begin again till ten in the morning, and much later when the heats are extreme. In Winter, the ſouth winds commonly prevail, and conſtantly ſucceed the Hurricanes of Snow which are brought from the north, and which they diſſolve with extreme rapidity. Nevertheleſs, it is obſerved that the ſouth wind, the firſt

day

day it blows; after the Snow, is always particularly cold, and produces a hard Froſt; afterwards it grows milder, brings on a Thaw, and ſometimes is the cauſe of conſiderable Heat.

The ſituation of Mount Olympus, conſtantly covered with Snow, cauſes this Phænomenon, and furniſhes us with its ſolution. This high Mountain, at the foot of which is built the ancient City of Buſra, is ſituated in Aſia, within ſight of Conſtantinople, to the ſouthward; and, when the wind begins to blow from that quarter, the Snow, over which it paſſes, gives it an exceſſive cóldneſs; nor does it regain its natural warmth, till it has overcome the frigidity of the Atmoſphere; and it is to be remarked, that the Storms which here frequently happen, are rapidly ſucceeded by a clear Sky in the north-weſt, from whence the wind drives away the Clouds over Aſia Minor. Such, at leaſt, is the appearance which the Heavens, in this Country, commonly preſent.

The cooling Breezes of the north, while they refreſh the Strait, give an additional

attraction to thoſe delightful ſituations on each ſide of it, where almoſt all the Grandees of the Empire have erected country-houſes, in which they paſs the Summer; and though the moſt delicious of theſe ſpots have been appropriated to erect palaces on for the Sultan, they but contribute to increaſe the beauty of this charming ſcene. The Proſpects they preſent are ſo much the more agreeable as Nature is never ſeen diſtorted, by Plantations in ſtraight lines, Trees forced into unuſual forms, or ſandy burning Walks, uſurping the place of that ſoft and lovely Verdure, which the Turks have ſenſe enough to prefer.

The care they take, to preſerve theſe natural Beauties, is not, perhaps, to be attributed either to their want of Art, or good Taſte, which perceives the elegance of Simplicity. Above all, they admire the ſhade of great Trees, and will, to preſerve them, even diſregard the convenience of their houſes. I have ſeen a fine old Elm, more ancient than the Proprietor, preſerved by the Architect, in the midſt of a Gallery which it croſſed, to ſpread its ſhade over the roof. All the Trees of an Eſtate are

left in the ſame order they are found, and the plan of any Building is commonly regulated by them, be they placed how they will; and this, no doubt, becauſe, in ſo warm a Climate, the ſhade of great Trees is neceſſary. Under a deſpotic Government, they muſt make uſe of thoſe they can find, for they have not time to wait their growth.

Hanum Sultana, Niece to the Grand Seignior, dwelt, during the whole Summer, near the Straits, where ſhe had a beautiful Palace. Her Uncle viſited her often; and the regard with which ſhe was honoured, by Sultan Oſman, gave birth to ſcandalous reports. Though young, and a long time married, ſhe had ſcarcely ever ſeen her huſband; he had been appointed to a Pachalik, or Government, a ſhort time after his marriage. It was the intereſt of the Viſirs that he ſhould remain at a diſtance, and the Laws permitted not the Sultana to accompany him. Perhaps the affection of the Uncle for the Niece made a meeting, between him and his ſpouſe, rather improper.

The abuſe of the word Sultana, among Europeans, tempts me to make the follow-

ing Obſervations, which, perhaps, may ſerve to correct their miſtakes on that head.

The word Sultan is a title given to the Ottoman Princes, born while their fathers were in poſſeſſion of the Throne, and to thoſe of the Ginguiſian family. It is pronounced Sooltan, and, no doubt, is the ſame with Soudan, which in Egypt may ſignify King, but, in Turkey or Tartary, conveys no idea of Sovereign Authority (P). The title of Cham is aſſumed by the Sovereign of the Tartars, and is equivalent to that of Shah, which ſignifies King, among the Perſians, and is the root of Padi Shah, or Great King, which the pride of the Ottoman houſe has taken upon itſelf to refuſe, or grant, to other Powers, who cannot perceive that it would more become their dignity to reject, than to aſſume it (Q).

The Epithet Sultan, therefore, is beſtowed on him who enjoys the right of Succeſſion; and this, by the Turkiſh Law, belongs to the eldeſt of the Family. It is to be remembered, as has before been remarked, that he muſt be born while his father poſſeſſes the Throne.

Sultan

Sultan Mahomet, dying without children, after a reign of twenty years, left the Empire to his brother Oſman, the eldeſt of four remaining ſons of Sultan Achmet, their father, who had been dethroned by a Revolution. Muſtapha, who ſucceeded Oſman, Bajazet, who died in the Seraglio, and Abdul Amid, at preſent on the Throne, were nearly of the ſame age with Oſman; and, he leaving no poſterity, his family was in danger of becoming entirely extinct, if he had lived long. His reign, however, laſted but three years; and Sultan Muſtapha ſoon gave two heirs to the Empire, of whom one only is this day living, in the perſon of Sultan Selim, who was confined after the death of his father, but will ſucceed his uncle Abdul Amid, in preference to his Couſins born, or to be born (R).

It may be expected that this Prince, yet very young, will come to the poſſeſſion of Sovereign Power at ſuch an age that the duration of the Dynaſty of Ottoman Princes, which this order of Succeſſion has frequently threatened with total extinction,

may continue much longer. The failure of the preſent reigning Family would, perhaps, utterly annihilate the Empire; as no Law, whatever, gives the poſſeſſion of it to the Ginguiſian Princes. This ſuppoſition I once took upon me to mention to the Cham of the Tartars, who aſſured me it was without foundation. We may, nevertheleſs, preſume, that, in caſe the Ottoman line were extinct, the factions, which would rend and divide the Monarchy, would determine the Heads of the Law to call to the Throne one of the Tartar Sultans, in default of thoſe collateral Branches which the weakneſs of Deſpotiſm, with ſavage barbarity, cuts off in their birth.

I do not ſpeak here of thoſe collateral Branches which produce the Princes whom their policy confines within the interior receſſes of the Seraglio, and whom they nevertheleſs furniſh with wives. Their children, born between the Throne and the rank of Subjects, appertain neither to the one nor the other. Falſhood may, perhaps, ſave Nature the horror of knowing they

they are deſtroyed, and prejudice ſpread the conſoling error that the wives, aſſigned theſe Princes, are of an age which may render ſuch crimes unneceſſary.

The daughters and ſiſters of the Grand Seignior, married to the Viſirs and great men of the Empire, dwell each in her ſeparate Palace; and all the male children who are born to them, are inſtantly ſmothered by the perſon who delivers the mother. This is the moſt public of all their Laws, and that which is leaſt infringed. No attempt is made to conceal theſe horrible Aſſaſſinations; a deſpicable fear is the cauſe of them, more than the intereſt of the Throne. What conſolation can theſe unfortunate Princeſſes find? But the pride of Birth, more monſtrous than the atrocious Crime it cauſes, not content with its Victim, ſtifles in them the very feelings of Nature!

The daughters, who alone eſcape from this murderous Law, only preſerve the title of Sultana by adding to it that of Hanum, common to all women of to-

lerable fortune; and their children, of both ſexes, whom theſe Princeſſes may preſerve, now enter into the general claſs of the people, and are not diſtinguiſhed by any title. Born of a grandaughter of the Emperor, the influence of paternal notice no longer reaches them: the great grandfather has loſt ſight of them in the obſcurity of their birth.

Such are the degrees of rank which confer the title of Sultana among the Turks. The Tartars, more humane, becauſe they are not Deſpots, ſmother no one; they content themſelves with making the ſon take the name, rank, and titles of the Mirza who is his father.

She, among the Slaves of the Seraglio, who becomes mother of a Sultan, and lives long enough to ſee him mount the Throne, is the only Female who, without royal birth, may aſſume the title of Sultana Valida, or Sultana Mother; and that only when her ſon is advanced to the poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power. Till then, carefully attended in her Priſon, ſhe enjoys no pleaſure, but that which ſhe

ſhe experiences from the regard and duty of her ſon. It hence appears that the expreſſion, favourite Sultana, is highly abſurd; ſince, if ſhe be a Sultana, ſhe cannot avow this kind of favour; and, if ſhe can enjoy it, ſhe is not a Sultana.

The title of Bache-Kadun, or principal woman, is the firſt dignity in the Harem of the Grand Seignior; and ſhe has a greater allowance than thoſe who have only the title of ſecond, third, and fourth woman; but theſe advantages do not always ſpeak them Favourites. The reigning Emperor diſpoſed of theſe diſtinctions according to the dictates of gratitude, honouring with them thoſe women who had accompanied him in his Retirement; but he can beſtow them on whom he pleaſes, by baniſhing, to the Old Seraglio, thoſe on whom they had been conferred. No one of theſe four is married; they only repreſent the four free women whom the Law allows; and, it may be preſumed, they are principally diſtinguiſhed by theſe titles in compliance with form.

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I have already ſaid that it is only by a knowledge of what paſſes in the Harems of private perſons that any judgment can be formed of that of the Grand Seignior, into which no one is permitted to enter, except ſome Phyſicians; and they not till every thing has been removed, not neceſſary to the perſon to whoſe aſſiſtance they have been called.

Even the Palace of a Sultana, where every thing is ſubject to her will, her huſband not excepted, affords nothing by which any Conjecture can be formed of the interior Receſſes of the Seraglio. I ſhall not, therefore, pretend to throw any light into this inacceſſible Cavern, nor ſhall I deſcribe any thing which can, with propriety, be made the ground of Compariſon. All I ſhall offer are ſome ſimple details, which deſerve attention, as they paint, with accuracy, the manners of the people: and I am extremely happy to have it in my power to ſatisfy the public curioſity on this head, by giving a relation, under the immediate inſpection

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of Madame de Tott, of a Viſit which ſhe made, with her mother, to Aſma Sultana, daughter of the Emperor Achmet, and ſiſter of thoſe who have ſucceeded him to this day.

Under the reign of Sultan Mahamout, this Princeſs, yet young, and induced, by the example of her brother, to a ſort of predilection in favour of the Franks, deſired to have a converſation with ſome European woman. My wife's mother, though born in Turkey, was ſufficient to ſatisfy her curioſity; and, with her daughter, was invited to her Palace, where the Intendant of the Exterior was ordered to receive and conduct them to the Sultana. Being arrived at the Seraglio of that Princeſs, (the ſame to which the Viſir removed after the fire, as has been already related) their Conductreſs cauſed the firſt and ſecond iron Gates to be opened: theſe Gates were Kept by different Porters, not unlike the ordinary ſpecies of men; but when the keeper of the third Gate had opened it, in like manner, to the orders of the Intendant, ſeveral black Eunuchs

pre-

preſented themſelves, who, with each a white ſtaff in his hand, preceded the Viſitors, and led them acroſs an interior court, into a ſpacious apartment, called the Chamber of Strangers.

The Kiaya Kadun, or Governeſs of the Interior of the Seraglio, came to wait on, and pay her reſpects to, the two Ladies; and the Slaves, who accompanied her, aſſiſted them to take off and fold up their veils, while their Miſtreſs went to inform the Sultana of their arrival. The Princeſs was ſo much bigoted to the prejudices of her Religion that ſhe was unwilling to receive the Viſit, except behind Lattices, where ſhe could ſee without being ſeen; but my wife's mother declared ſhe would not ſtay, if the Sultana perſiſted in her intention to conceal herſelf; and, after ſeveral meſſages and replies, the Negotiation ended, by the Princeſs conſenting to give up the point, and requeſting they would reſt themſelves a ſhort time before they came up ſtairs; by which means ſhe gained an opportunity to adjuſt her Dreſs, and add to her Ornaments.

Pre-

Preſently, therefore, my wife's mother and her daughter were introduced, by the Intendant, a great number of Slaves following in their train. On entering the apartments they found the Sultana richly dreſſed, adorned with all her Diamonds, ſitting at one end of a ſuperb Sofa, in a magnificent chamber, the Tapeſtry (*q*) and Carpets of which were of the manufacture of Lyons, ornamented with gold and ſilver, worked in with different colours. Selictas (*r*) covered with ſattin, embroidered with gold, were brought and laid before the Sultana, for her Gueſts to ſit down on, while ſixty young Girls, richly clothed in flowing garments, divided themſelves to the right and left, and, with their hands croſſed before them, ranged themſelves in a row on each ſide.

(*q*) The Turks are little acquainted with this article of luxury. It is ſeldom met with, except within the Harems, where a kind of curtain hangs behind the cuſhions, and hides the half of the wall; but the hall, where the Throne is, when the Sofa is removed, is entirely hung with tapeſtry.

(*r*) A Selicta is a little Mattreſs of cotton, covered with ſtuff.

After

After the firſt compliments, the enquiries of the Princeſs turned on the liberty which our women enjoy. She made a compariſon between that and the cuſtoms of the Harem; and teſtified much ſurpriſe that the perſon of a young Lady ſhould, before marriage, be permitted to be ſeen, by her intended Spouſe; but could not but allow the advantage which muſt follow from our more liberal practice, and, freely confeſſing her own feelings, complained of the Barbarity which, at thirteen years of age, united her to a decrepit old man, who, treating her like a child, had inſpired her with nothing but Diſguſt. Death has at laſt delivered me from him, continued ſhe; but I have not much mended my condition: after having been married ten years to a Pacha who, as report ſays, is both young and amiable, I have not yet ſo much as ſeen him.

The Princeſs behaved with great complaiſance to the two Europeans; gave orders to her Intendant to ſhew them every reſpect, to accompany them into the garden,

den, entertain them, and bring them back to conclude the Viſit.

The Intendant then conducted the Strangers into her apartment, where they dined with her alone, while a great number of Slaves waited on them, forming a circle round the table. Dinner being ended and coffee diſtributed, pipes were offered to the Europeans, but they did not chuſe to accept of them; and the Intendant ſcarcely gave herſelf time to conclude her repaſt, before ſhe conducted her Gueſts into the garden, where they found a great number of other Slaves, ſtationed near a beautiful Kioſk. This Pavilion, richly furniſhed and ornamented, built near a large baſon of water, occupied the middle of the garden; where Eſpaliers of roſes, riſing on every ſide, hid the lofty walls of this Priſon. Narrow paths, chequered with Moſaic work in flint, were the only alleys of this Garden; but a great number of pots and baſkets of flowers, offering to the eye an aſſemblage of agreeable colours, invited them to enjoy the proſpect on an elegant Sofa, which ſtood

ſtood at the end of the walks. Scarcely had they ſeated themſelves before the Eunuchs, who had preceded them, ranged themſelves in a row on each ſide, to make way for the muſic of the Princeſs. The Band was compoſed of ten female Slaves, who played different pieces; during which a number of Dancers, not leſs elegantly, though more lightly habited, executed different Ballets, very agreeable, both for the figure and variety of the ſtep. Theſe Dancers, likewiſe, were ſuch as poſſeſſed the politeſt manners, and not commonly met with in private houſes. Preſently came twelve more females, dreſt like men, no doubt to add to the entertainment the appearance, at leaſt, of a ſex which was wanting. Theſe pretended men immediately began a kind of play, in which they contended with each other for ſome fruits, that ſome other Slaves had brought to throw into the baſon. A little boat rowed by females, diſguiſed in the ſame manner in the dreſs of men, afforded the Strangers an opportunity of taking their pleaſure on the Water; after which, being

conducted

conducted back to the Sultana, they took their leave with the cuſtomary Ceremonies, and were led out of the Seraglio in the ſame manner in which they had been introduced.

It may be perceived, in this relation, that the Eunuchs were more under the command of the Sultana, than diſpoſed to contradict her. Theſe Beings are in Turkey only an article of Luxury, and ſcarcely met with, but in the Seraglio of the Grand Seignior, and thoſe of the Sultanas. The pride of ſome Grandees has indeed gone ſo far as to make uſe of them, but with moderation, and the richeſt among them have not more than one or two *black* Eunuchs at moſt. The *white*, who are leſs deformed, are reſerved for the Sovereign, and employed in the Seraglio as Guards of the outer Gates; but they can neither approach the women nor arrive at any honourable or lucrative office; while the black have, at leaſt in the expectation of the place of Kiſlar-Aga, a motive of Ambition, which ſuſtains and animates them. The manners of theſe are always

harſh and brutal, and offended Nature ſeems continually to expreſs her anger at the injury ſhe has received.

Though the feaſt of Tchiraghan (*s*), or Tulips, with which the Grand Seignior ſometimes amuſes himſelf, cannot enable us to form any judgment of the interior of his Harem, a relation of it may perhaps appear intereſting, by giving ſome idea of his Diverſions (*t*).

The Garden of the Harem, much larger, without doubt, than that of Aſma Sultana, but certainly laid out in the ſame taſte, is the place in which theſe nocturnal Entertainments are given. Vaſes of every kind, filled with natural and artificial flowers, are brought for the occaſion, and add to the ſplendor of an illumination cauſed by an infinite number of Lanterns,

(*s*) The Feaſt of Tulips. It is ſo called, becauſe it conſiſts in illuminating a garden, and this flower is that which the Turks admire moſt.

(*t*) It is reaſonable to believe, that thoſe he habitually enjoys afford him leſs pleaſure than the illumination of his Tulips.

coloured

coloured Lamps, and Wax-candles, in glaſs tubes, reflected on every ſide by Mirrors diſpoſed for that purpoſe. Shops, erected for the Rejoicing, and furniſhed with different kinds of wares, are occupied by the women of the Harem, who repreſent, in proper dreſſes, Dealers, and offer the goods they contain to ſale. The Sultanas, whether Siſters, Nieces, or Couſins of the Emperor, are invited by him to partake of this Amuſement; and they, as well as his Highneſs, purchaſe in theſe Shops trinkets and toys, of which they make each other preſents; they likewiſe extend their generoſity to the women of the Grand Seignior, who are admitted to the diverſion, or who occupy the ſhops; and the Dances, the Muſic, and that kind of ſport I have before mentioned, prolong the Entertainment till night is very far advanced, and ſpread a kind momentary gaiety over a place which ſeems, in every other reſpect, devoted to Sadneſs and Diſcontent.

It is from the information of Madame de Tott, that I am enabled to give this

deſcription. She had received an account of it from Hanum Sultana, whom I have already mentioned as ſo great a favourite with her Uncle.

My brother-in-law maintained a friendſhip with the Intendant of this Princeſs, in order to employ her influence in behalf of himſelf or Friends. The Chief of the Eunuchs was equally ready to do him any favour. The Sultana, herſelf, had often ſeen him through her Lattices; he poſſeſſed a handſome perſon, and every qualification proper to excite her regard. A long time deprived of her huſband, by whom ſhe had a ſon and a daughter, this Princeſs appeared deſirous to conſole herſelf for his abſence, and to have taken the advantage, by her near approach to the rank of a private perſon, to adopt the manners of that ſtation of life. In her Retinue it was eaſy to perceive lively appearances of that jealouſy ſo uſual among Turkiſh Women. The attention ſhe paid to Madame de Tott, and her condeſcending to put on her veil with her own hands, affected her favourite woman

ſo

ſo much that ſhe fainted away; and Madame de Tott returned home, more ſtruck by the affectionate kindneſs with which the Sultana had treated her than with the exceſſive Magnificence which reigned in her Palace, and among her Slaves.

The Patriarch Kirlo, at that time, filled the œcumenical Chair of Conſtantinople. This man, advanced from the dregs of the People, among whom his Fanaticiſm had formed a conſiderable party, had rendered himſelf formidable to the firſt perſons of his Nation, though, in their hearts, they deſpiſed him. Supported by ſome Members of the Synod, he had embraced and maintained the opinion of the neceſſity of Baptiſm by Immerſion (S). The Anathema he pronounced, on this ſubject, in his Cathedral, againſt the Pope, the King of France, and all the Catholic Princes, prevailed on his Flock to cauſe themſelves to be re-baptized; and the Women and young Girls, always moſt apt to be devout, ran in crowds to this holy Ceremony; whence however ſcandal did not fail to draw criminal concluſions, againſt the Apoſtle and his Proſelytes.

Beſides the inſolence of an Excommunication, which could have nothing in view but Inſult, this Patriarch, conſtantly attentive to nouriſh the Fanaticiſm of his Nation, recompenſed the Turks for every injury they did the Catholics. He likewiſe treated in the moſt tyrannical manner thoſe Biſhops of his Church who refuſed to promote his views, and perſecuted thoſe unhappy *Deſpotis* (*u*) with the moſt ſavage barbarity, after having deprived them of all their temporal poſſeſſions. Of this number was Kalinico, Archbiſhop of Amaſia. He had fled into our quarter, to conceal himſelf from an order of his Superior, by which he was baniſhed to Mount Sinai; and ſolicited the intereſt of my wife's brother with Hanum Sultana, to obtain of the Grand Seignior the recovery of his Archbiſhoprick. To procure this was, no doubt, to do a commendable action; but,

(*u*) A Title which the Greek Biſhops aſſume, to ſignify their abſolute Power; the real value of which the Grand Seignior makes them frequently underſtand.

it

it is probable, we had not intereſted ourſelves ſo much in favour of this Prelate, if the deſire of expelling Kirlo had not invited us to make his Victim his Competitor. While my brother-in-law was negociating this affair, by means of the influence which Hanum Sultana had over the Grand Seignior, certain perſons, employed by the Patriarch to ſeize on Kalinico, endeavoured to put their orders in execution near my houſe, into which he ſcarcely had time to eſcape. In order, therefore, to provide for his future ſecurity, and that he might be at hand, to take the advantage of a proſperous turn in his affairs, I determined he ſhould lodge in a Kioſk on the top of my houſe, where I kept him till his exaltation to the Patriarchate; which, after a long negociation, my wife's brother obtained for a pretty large ſum of money, to be paid in new Sequins (*v*). The Katti-

(*v*) The Grand Seignior himſelf inſiſted on this Clauſe, and, to procure the money, we were obliged to have recourſe to the Mint; it was paid into the hands of the Emperor himſelf, who ſhared it with his Niece.

Cherif (x) of the Grand Seignior, which depoſed Kirlo, and appointed Kalinico his Succeſſor, was ſent down to the Viſir, before that Miniſter had any ſuſpicion of what was intended. In order, therefore, to juſtify ſo ſudden a depoſition, this Mandate, conceived in very ſtrong terms, accuſed the Patriarch of a reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition, ripe for Rebellion; and concluded, by an injunction to uſe every method to ſecure his perſon, that he might not eſcape from his Sentence, which was baniſhment to Mount Sinai. Immediately the Miniſters of the Porte took meaſures to provide againſt the imaginary danger, which their puſillanimity repreſented as very preſſing. Several companies of Janiſſaries had orders to go, early in the morning, and take poſſeſſion of all the avenues of that quarter of the City which was inhabited by the Greeks; the Guards were doubled in the environs, and, the Patriarchal Palace being entirely ſur-

(x) The Imperial Mandate, or Diploma; it has the force of a Law, and muſt be executed without Reply.

rounded,

rounded, Kirlo was preſently taken, without any reſiſtance, by thoſe employed to apprehend him, who immediately put him on board a Coal-barge, as a place of ſecurity. Except in this little circumſtance of degradation, never was any Greek leſs worthy of the many precautions and parade which attended his fall; and his Countrymen were ſo far from intending to oppoſe the orders of the Grand Seignior that, had it not been for the trivial incident of the Coal-barge, their Vanity would have been fully ſatisfied.

It remained for the Porte to inſtall his Succeſſor; and it would not have been known where he was to have been found if the Grand Seignior, who was informed of every little occurrence in this affair, had not pointed out his Retreat. Meſſengers were immediately ſent to me from the Viſir to enquire for him, and conduct him to the Porte; and this wretched *Deſpoti*, more accuſtomed to fear than hope, entreated me not to deliver him into the hands of his Enemies at the very moment I made known to him his

Pro-

Promotion. It was not poſſible to inſpire him with Fortitude; he followed his Guides as if they had been his Executioners, and was proclaimed Patriarch an hour after.

The ſame day I received his thanks, for the part I had taken in the buſineſs. He afterwards came to ſee me in his Proſperity, and begged of me to take care to provide him a Retreat, for he imagined he ſhould ſoon have occaſion for me; I then perceived that we had made but an indifferent choice.

This was, however, a favourable opportunity for me to be preſent at the Ceremonies of their Religion, and I went on one of their great holidays to the Metropolitan Church. The ſervants of the new Patriarch attended me, and placed me, by his order, in a ſeat on the right hand of his Throne, which he preſently aſcended; and, every thing being prepared to begin the ſervice, came down again and ſeated himſelf in an Arm-chair, facing the Sacra Sanctorum. There the Deacons proceeded to inveſt him with

the Pontifical Robes, and placed on his head a Crown of Diamonds, closed, and surmounted with a double Cross upon the Globe.

The Patriarch then took in his left hand the Patriarchal-Staff, and in his right a small Wax Taper with three branches, of which he held only two, to signify the union of the Father and Son, without admitting the Holy Ghost: he observed a form of the like nature when he gave the Benediction, by bending the two middle fingers of his hand; thus intimating that the Holy Ghost, represented by the little finger, remained separated from the Son, from whom the Greeks do not believe that he proceeded. The Patriarch was then introduced into the Sanctuary, and the curtain drawn, when, the Church being extremely full, the People, who till then had observed a most respectful silence, began to be agitated in the same tumultuous manner we sometimes see the Spectators in the Pit of our Theatres.

To the indecent laughing, which this motion occasioned, were added the cries of

of thoſe who felt themſelves violently preſſed, and almoſt ſtifled by the Crowd. One of them, after having been trodden under foot for ſome time, was raiſed, juſt before me, above the heads of the Aſſembly, which were ſo cloſe that, with a little aſſiſtance from the hands of thoſe who raiſed him, and puſhed him forwards, he walked over them to the bottom of the Church, where he was conveyed, in this ſtrange manner, to recover his breath. This expedient, which I viewed at my eaſe from the high ſeat in which I was placed, by hurting the ears of ſeveral among the Multitude, contributed ſtill more to heighten the diſturbance, which increaſed to ſuch a degree that the Patriarch, ſuddenly drawing back the Curtain that concealed him from the People, addreſſed them in a diſcourſe not much more moderate than the noiſe which had occaſioned it, and concluded his paſtoral exhortation by *ſending the whole Herd of them to the Devil.* But the calm this produced laſted not long; and, the moment for the celebration of the Sacrifice approaching, it was found neceſ-

ſary

ſary to have recourſe to a more efficacious method of reſtoring order than the ineffectual eloquence of the Pontif. The Patriarch's Janiſſary, therefore, by exerciſing his cudgel with a vigorous arm, reſtored to the Aſſembly the attention due to the holy Myſtery about to be repreſented. The lateral doors of the Sacra Sanctorum then opened, and the Deacons came out with all the inſtruments of the Greek Liturgy, to offer them ſucceſſively at the middle door, where they proclaimed aloud the name of each in its turn. The patriarchal Crown, which cloſed the Proceſſion, was alone refuſed; and this teſtimony of a contempt for Riches, compared with his adoration of the holy Goſpels and ſacred Veſſels, was no doubt conſidered as adding to the marks of reſpect ſhown them by the Patriarch.

The latter Ceremonies of the Service contained nothing remarkable. I accompanied the Patriarch home, who detained me to dinner. I likewiſe took the opportunity, while I was in the Fanal (*y*), of

(*y*) The quarter of the City inhabited by the Greeks.

viſiting

viſiting the Dragoman of the Porte, whoſe family, being particularly attached to Madame de Tott, had invited her to ſpend ſome days at a Country-houſe which they had near the Straits. Among the number of Archons (z), whom I met with at the houſe of the Interpreter of the Grand Seignior, there was one named Manoly Serdar (a), who had faithfully followed the fortunes of Racovitza, the depoſed Prince of Wallachia, and appeared to me to have more intelligence and learning than the reſt of his Countrymen. He above all engaged my good opinion by the diſintereſted honeſty with which he preferred Mediocrity, in the ſervice of his old maſter, to all the advantages which a time-ſerving Ingratitude might have gained him, in that of another. His fidelity to his Prince was not to be ſhaken; by the proſpect of any benefit to himſelf, and he had nothing in view but the re-eſtabliſhment of Racovitza; and on this account, no doubt, having

(z) A title which the wealthy Greeks ſtill aſſume.

(a) Serdar, a Turkiſh word, ſignifying Governor.

formed

formed a high opinion (from the elevation of Kalinico) of the credit of my brother-in-law, and wiſhing, perhaps, to employ its influence, Manoly Serdar appeared as deſirous of becoming acquainted with me as I was to be intimate with a perſon who could give me ſo much information, with reſpect to the Character and Manners of his Nation. Our friendſhip increaſed in the Country, where he came to live, near me; we were almoſt always together; and I thought it a well grounded obſervation, which he frequently made, that his Nation in nothing reſembled the ancient Empire of the Greeks, except in that Pride and Fanaticiſm which had cauſed its Ruin. However, Manoly Serdar only lived on the fortune he had acquired, while his Prince Racovitza had poſſeſſed the Principality of Wallachia; and I ſaw, with regret, that the luxury of his Wife, and an expenſive Retinue, unitedly expoſed his Virtue to be forced to give way to the advice of Neceſſity, while his Vanity rejected that of Oeconomy.

The

The familiarity in which we lived enabled me to form a proper judgment of his manners and diſpoſition; and I could not but remark, in his mode of living, a mixture of Grecian and Turkiſh cuſtoms. A little Lamp kept conſtantly burning before a Picture of the Panaghia, or Bleſſed Virgin, afforded light at the ſame time to the Slaves who dreſſed and undreſſed the Serdar. This Greek, as well as all thoſe who are ſufficiently opulent to imitate the manners of the Turks, was accuſtomed to ſleep after dinner on his Sofa, while a woman, by driving away the flies with a great fan made of feathers, rendered the air he breathed cool and refreſhing; other Slaves, on their knees at his feet, rubbed them gently with their hands. This Aſiatick Luxury would, without doubt, permit Suſpicion to go greater lengths with reſpect to theſe particulars; and his ill uſage of his Slaves, for the moſt trifling offences, ſhould convince us that, where the facility of gratifying our Deſires is unbounded, all ſenſe of Delicacy and Feeling is utterly deſtroyed.

It

It was now become neceſſary, to think of performing the promiſe which Madame de Tott had made to the Lady of the Dragoman to paſs ſome days with her; and we paid her a viſit at her Country-houſe. The Family conſiſted of ſix perſons. The old Dragoman's official knowledge made ſome amends for an underſtanding naturally dull; he was in reality very ignorant, and his acquaintance with foreign Languages was confined to the ſpeaking of bad Italian. His Wife was of a leſs advanced age, and had an air of Dignity which ſupplied the place of her departed Beauty; ſhe ſuperintended her domeſtic affairs, and did the Honours of her houſe with a kind of Civility, which but imperfectly concealed the Pride ſhe felt in imagining herſelf, by the ſituation of her huſband, the firſt Lady of her Nation. The eldeſt of her ſons, who (as will be hereafter ſeen) ſucceeded his father in the Principality of Moldavia, and came to an unfortunate end, was of a diſpoſition naturally mild, but weak and vain; the youngeſt, much prouder, already manifeſted ſigns of that ſpirit of Intrigue and

Ambition which coſt his brother his life. Their eldeſt daughter was a widow at nineteen, more freſh than the morning roſe: ſhe was genteely ſhaped, and, to a beauty the moſt alluring, united an air of modeſty, ſweetneſs, and languor, the Charms of which were irreſiſtible. The youngeſt, leſs handſome, but lively and entertaining, was engaged to a young Greek who reſided near them. This intended Spouſe was, as may be ſuppoſed, deſirous of forming an acquaintance with us; and we were ſcarcely arrived, before he was announced by two or three Slaves, who, entering precipitately into the apartment in which the Family was aſſembled, threw themſelves on the young Lady his propoſed Bride, and covering her with their robes, hurried her away, crying out with much haſte and agitation, *Hide yourſelf, he is coming!* Preſently this young man entered, who, though reſpected and careſſed by all the Family, could not obtain a ſight of the Object of his Vows but by ſurpriſe: in which manner, indeed, he had often attempted it, but always

always without ſucceſs. He ſtaid with us to ſupper, but the Lady was not ſuffered to appear till his departure.

The time for taking our repoſe was now come, and we were conducted into another large room, in the middle of which was a kind of Bed, without bedſtead or curtains; though the coverlet and pillows exceeded in magnificence the richneſs of the Sofa, which likewiſe ornamented the apartment. I foreſaw that I could expect but little reſt on this Bed, and had the curioſity to examine its make in a very particular manner. Fifteen Mattreſſes of quilted cotton, about three inches thick, placed one upon another, formed the ground-work, and were covered by a ſheet of Indian-linen, ſewed on the laſt Mattreſs. A Coverlet of green ſattin, adorned with gold embroidery in emboſſed work, was in like manner faſtened to the ſheet, the ends of which, turned in, were ſewed down alternately. Two large Pillows of crimſon ſattin, overlaid with the like embroidery, in which there was no want of gold or ſpangles, reſted on two Cuſhions of the Sofa brought near to

ſerve for a back, and intended to ſupport our heads. A ſmall octagonal Tower, inlaid with ebony and mother-of-pearl, ſtood by the ſide of the Bed, and ſerved for a Table; upon it was placed a large ſilver Candleſtick, which held a yellow wax candle two inches thick, and three feet high, the wick of which, nearly as big as ones finger, produced a very diſagreeable ſmoke. Three China-ſalvers, filled with conſerve of roſes, flowers of orange, and lemon-peel, with a little golden ſpatula, the handle of tortoiſe-ſhell, to ſerve for a ſpoon, and a cryſtal veſſel full of water, ſurrounded this obſcure Luminary, which was intended to burn all night; a precaution not to be neglected, where there is ſo much reaſon to fear, and provide againſt, the dreadful ravages of Fire. Such were our accommodations at the Dragoman's, and I could not but expect to paſs a very indifferent night. The taking of the pillows entirely away would have been a good reſource if we had had any Bolſter; and the expedient of turning the other ſide upwards having only ſerved to ſhow they were embroidered

broidered on both ſides alike, we at laſt determined to lay our handkerchiefs over them, which, however, did not prevent our being very ſenſible of the emboſſed ornaments underneath. It will readily be ſuppoſed we were not Sluggards; indeed it was with much ſatisfaction we ſaw the morning appear, reſolving to procure more commodious Pillows for the night following.

A fiſhing party projected the evening before preceded our breakfaſt, which was carried over to the Aſiatic ſide of the Straits, where a beautiful meadow, coffee taken in the Turkiſh manner, and covered chariots drawn by ſmall Buffaloes, promiſed the Ladies every entertainment and delight the country afforded. Our fiſhing was but moderately ſucceſsful; the Ladies were well jolted, and ſome Turkiſh women, who were likewiſe taking their pleaſure, were very troubleſome to us by their queſtions, and inſolent in their anſwers. We brought back from this excurſion ſome Curds, and Water-creſſes gathered from the ſide of a ſpring; and were all of the

ſame opinion with reſpect to the delights of the amuſement we had enjoyed.

We found, on our return to the Dragoman's, ſeveral Greek Gentlewomen, who lived near them, invited to dinner, and already aſſembled. Fond of a heavy kind of ornament, in which it was eaſy to perceive that Vanity had been more conſulted than the Seaſon, they appeared ſeated on a ſuperb Sofa, in Robes of crimſon or black velvet, loaded with golden embroidery on all the ſeams. The weight of ſuch a dreſs, added to the heat of the weather, had almoſt rendered theſe Ladies immoveable, and nearly dumb; however, ſome common-place remarks were made, and now and then repeated till we ſat down to dinner, which was ſerved up after the French manner, on a circular table, with chairs ſet round it, ſpoons, forks, &c. and nothing wanting but to know how to make uſe of all theſe things. They ſeemed nevertheleſs to be deſirous not to omit any of our Cuſtoms, which begin to be in the ſame vogue, among the Greeks, which thoſe of the Engliſh are with us: and I

have

have ſeen a woman, at dinner, take olives up with her fingers, and afterwards put them on a fork, to eat them after the French faſhion. If the drinking of Healths be no longer the mode with us, it is not the leſs agreeable to find this ancient practice ſtill remaining in other Countries. Our Greeks did not omit this Ceremony, and the men even performed it ſtanding, with the head uncovered: and, what may appear leſs refined, the ſame Rummer of wine ſerved the whole circle of Gueſts. After dinner, in which there was more Profuſion than Elegance or Cleanlineſs, the Company ſeated themſelves upon a Sofa, in the ſame room in which it had been ſerved up. Pipes ſucceeded Coffee; they began a converſation on the Faſhions, which concluded in Scandal, and in this, too, I found their imitation of our manners very perfect. In the mean time the young Girls amuſed themſelves with a Swing, hung at the other end of the room, and which ſome Slaves put in motion: the Women likewiſe expreſſed a deſire of partaking in this pleaſure, and were accordingly placed

in the Machine, and their places, when vacant, ſupplied by our Gentlemen with long beards. The games of Backgammon, Cheſs, and Panguelo (*b*), concluded the diverſions of the day. Towards the evening, the Company went to take the air on a kind of Wharf or Quay, which jets out into the Sea, to facilitate the landing of the Boats.

The Moon began to appear, and a dead Calm invited us to go upon the Water, when the confuſed cries, at a diſtance, of perſons beaten, and others beating them, proclaimed the arrival of the Boſtandgi Bachi. Mice are not more in haſte to run away, at the approach of a Cat, than all the women now were to hide themſelves. The Dragoman's Lady and Madame de Tott, who had nothing to fear, alone dared to abide the coming of this great Officer, who quickly made his appearance in a Barge, manned by four and twenty Rowers. He had been to chaſtiſe the irregularities of ſome drunken perſons, and lay hold of certain females, a

(*b*) A kind of play reſembling the game of Berlan.

little

little too gay, who had fallen under his notice. He continued his courſe, paſſing cloſe by the Quay where we were, and we reciprocally ſaluted each other.

The Pride of the fugitive Greeks already endeavoured to excuſe their Fear, when a Fiſherman, being interrogated which way the Boſtandgi Bachi had taken, ſpread a ſtill greater alarm, by informing us, that, after having landed, without noiſe, at the Kioſk of a Grecian Lady, and liſtened for ſome minutes to the converſation which paſſed in it, that Officer, accompanied by ſeveral of his attendants, had ſcaled the windows, but that he knew nothing further. This, however, was ſufficient to render the Panic general, and excite univerſal pity for the misfortune of the Lady; and every one was engaged in reflections on this event, when the intended Spouſe of the youngeſt daughter arrived, and once more obliged that young Lady to make a precipitate Retreat. The intelligence he brought relieved the Company from the anxiety of impatient Curioſity. Lay aſide your Fears, ſaid he to one

one of the Strangers of our Party, your Couſin and her Friend have been bought off by all the Diamonds, Trinkets, and Money, they had about them; there was no time for heſitation. The Boſtandgi Bachi ſurpriſed them, ordered them to be taken on board his Barge and conveyed to Priſon: his avarice at length rendered him tractable; but he has left them much leſs pleaſed with their evening's Entertainment than they expected to have been.

At this relation, the rage of the Grecian women knew no bounds, and their diſcuſſions, of the Law and the Fact, were only interrupted by ſome other little Boats, which their fear of the Boſtandgi Bachi repreſented bigger than they really were: however, as ſoon as they had regained their courage, the diſcourſe turned on the different methods of avoiding the trouble he might give; and he was the only ſubject of Converſation, till he was ſeen again coming down the Strait, to return to Conſtantinople; when, as we were now at Liberty, it was agreed on, by the whole Party, to purſue our intended plan of Diverſions,

Diverſions. In a ſhort time the Sea was covered by a prodigious number of Boats, in which Ladies enjoyed the beauties of the ſcene, ſerenaded by muſical inſtruments. Our company preſently joined this little Fleet, and, as we paſſed by the houſes on the ſhore, we amuſed ourſelves, by making remarks on their Poſſeſſors who, from their Kioſks, made the like remarks on us; and I collected, as we went along, a great deal of information, which, had it been known to the Boſtandgi Bachi, he would have derived from it conſiderable advantage.

I had gone, by choice, into the ſame Boat with the intended huſband of the younger daughter, who had engaged my attention by the agreeableneſs of his perſon, and the gaiety of his manners. He preſently perceived my partiality, and ſpoke to me, without reſerve, of his concern, at never being permitted to ſee the Fair-one his affianced Bride. I was convinced of the juſtice of his complaint, and appointed a particular time, on the next day, when I promiſed to procure him a ſight of her; he was as punctual

to

to his engagement as I had been in contriving the means of affording him this gratification; but a ſpiteful little Slave, who watched him, endeavoured to diſconcert all my projects, by giving the Alarm. The Damſel, at the ſame inſtant, perceiving her Lover, fled to a gallery on the ſide of us; but I ran and ſtopped her at the entrance, calling to the young Greek, who came up to us in a moment.

A reinforcement however, of two Harpies, preſently arrived from the bottom of the gallery, cackling like the Geeſe of the Capitol; but they were not time enough to prevent a Kiſs being ſnatched by the intended huſband; and I was greatly pleaſed to initiate my young friends into the freedom of French Manners, after which we reſigned our Prey into the hands of the Enemy, who were in haſte to carry her off. Nevertheleſs, this little trick met the approbation of the Father and Mother, and the young Couple were from that time permitted to ſee each other without reſtraint.

The

The Diako, a kind of eccleſiaſtical Preceptor, who had the care of the education of this young Lady (for ſuch is the Cuſtom among all the Grecian families) was the only one who blamed my Conduct; he even ſpoke of it with ſo much heat, that he made me ſuſpect he regretted his not being able to finiſh the education of his Pupil.

We continued ſome days longer at the Dragoman's, in the ſame circle of amuſements, chagrin and impatience. I at length returned home to procure repoſe after theſe fatigues: I there found Manoly Serdar, who informed me, on my arrival, that a Greek, attached, like him, to Racovitza, had deſerted him to go into the ſervice of the new Prince, juſt appointed by the Porte. Manoly appeared to me to exaggerate this Crime with an affectation which I began to ſuſpect.

I endeavoured to perſuade him that, ſince he might himſelf be conſtrained by neceſſity to take the ſame meaſures, he ought, in prudence, to employ milder terms, and not judge with ſo much ſeverity

verity of a man whoſe conduct he was, perhaps, himſelf on the very point of imitating. Conſider me, ſaid he, as the meaneſt of mankind, if I ever alter; but honour me ſtill with your eſteem, if you never find me guilty of ſo black an Act of Treachery. I promiſed him both the one and the other, and I ſoon had an opportunity of keeping my word; for a few days after he went away, to make, as he ſaid, ſome freſh attempts in favour of his Benefactor; but I ſoon learned that he had entirely abandoned him, and entered into the Service of the new *Vaivode* (*c*). He wrote to me himſelf, to inform me of the ſtep he had taken, and requeſted, with great humility, to know what I thought of it: I perceived there were circumſtances which might have rendered it excuſable, if he had not himſelf ſo much aggravated his fault, by repeated Proteſtations of honour and fide-

(*c*) This is the Title which the Turks give to the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia; they are likewiſe ſtiled Beys.

lity.

lity. I therefore anſwered him, that he had himſelf dictated the Opinions which I ought to entertain of his Conduct, and that I would abide by them more faithfully than he had done by his own principles.

This man has ſince become himſelf Prince of Wallachia, during the laſt war of the Turks; but this poſt has been more to the advantage of his Intrigues than the manifeſtation of his Abilities; and I have loſt ſight of him, in that Obſcurity which involves thoſe creatures of a day whom the avarice of the Deſpot allows to ſhine, for a moment, by vending to Pride a tranſient ſplendor, derived from his Authority.

In the following relation of a Fact, of but little importance in itſelf, but ſingular, and worthy to be remarked, we ſhall ſee Sultan Oſman perſonally obliged to employ the authority of an Officer of very inferior rank.

A drunken Janiſſary, purſued by the Guard, who commonly have no other arms

arms but large ſticks, availed himſelf of the ſuperiority which his *Yatagan* (*d*) gave him over them, to defend himſelf like a Lion. He had already driven ſeveral of his Enemies from the Field; and, fatigued by his exertions, prepared for a new Engagement, by reſting on the ſteps of a *Khan* (*e*), whilſt the Guard converted the Attack into a Blockade. The Grand Seignior, who frequently went about the City in a diſguiſe which conceals him from nobody, happening to be on the ſpot, approached the offender, told him to lay down his Weapon, and ſurrender himſelf Priſoner; but nothing could move our Hero, who, careleſly regarding his Sovereign, threatened the firſt who ſhould dare to approach. The Sultan then aſked him of what *Orta* (*f*)

(*d*) A kind of Knife, very long, and bent, which ſerves as a Sabre.

(*e*) Public-houſes, where Merchants and Travellers lodge.

(*f*) Companies of Janiſſaries, not diſtinguiſhed by particular names, but numerical order. The number of Soldiers in each is not certain or equal. They reckon near thirty Thouſand Janiſſaries in the Thirty-fifth Company.

he

he was, and on his anſwer, ſent for his Caracooloóctchi (*g*), who preſently arrived. Diſarm that man, ſaid the Grand Seignior, and conduct him to the Caſtle (*h*). The Officer directly takes off his Girdle (*i*), and advances towards the Rebel with it in his right-hand, while he held out to him his left, ſaying, Fellow Soldier, give me your Weapon, and follow me: which he immediately did, without any reply, and with an air of the moſt humble ſubmiſſion.

Prejudice will always have more influence than Fear, and more power than Deſpotiſm.

Sultan Oſman was ſoon after obliged to pay a Tribute, to Popular Cuſtom, of

(*g*) Scullion of the Company; one of the ſuperior Officers.

(*h*) The Caſtle on the Europeán ſide of the Straits, to which they ſend ſuch Janiſſaries as they mean to ſtrangle, who, if they ſhould come out alive, have, at leaſt, had ſufficient reaſon to fear ſuch a puniſhment.

(*i*) A Girdle of Copper, which weighs fifteen Pounds, and with which theſe Officers may knock down or kill any Janiſſary. The Soldiers extremely reſpect this ſign of rank in thoſe who wear it; for though of an inferior order, they have great authority.

which he was the Victim. The art of the Phyſician endeavoured in vain to reeſtabliſh the health of that Prince; at the ſame time that the maxims of Government concealed his indiſpoſition. At length, his diſorder increaſing, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in his Palace, and reſerve his ſtrength, to enable him to appear every Friday at the Moſque. This public Ceremony, which Cuſtom has conſecrated, may not be neglected, without exciting great Diſturbances among the Soldiery and the People.

The contradiction which appears, at a firſt view, in a Law that requires ſubmiſſion from the Deſpot, will vaniſh, if we conſider that it is neceſſarily dictated by the Deſpotiſm of the Multitude; the object of perpetual dread to arbitrary Power. Secluded from the public eye, in the impenetrable apartments of his Seraglio, the ſight of him can alone legally prove his Exiſtence. It will likewiſe be perceived that, without this Precaution, a Viſir, poſſeſſed of ſufficient power, or art, to terrify, or corrupt, two or three

perſons, after the death of his Maſter, might conceal it long enough to undertake whatever he pleaſed, with Impunity.

It was not without exciting very loud Murmurs that Sultan Oſman neglected, one Friday, to appear in public; and, in order to appeaſe the diſturbances this omiſſion had occaſioned, he determined to go the following Friday, with the uſual ceremonies, to the Moſque of Sancta Sophia, which is that neareſt the Seraglio; notwithſtanding the extreme ſtate of weakneſs, and languor, to which his diſorder had reduced him. This Prince, on his return, ſcarcely able to keep his ſeat on his Horſe, though ſupported by his attendants on foot, who ſurrounded him, fainted away between the two gates which divide the Courts of the Seraglio; a Shawl (*k*) was

(*k*) A fine woollen ſtuff made in Perſia and the Indies, which the Turks make uſe of to wrap round their heads when they go out, either to defend them from the cold, or by way of diſguiſe; they have likewiſe cloaks, which they wear for the ſame purpoſe; but the Princes of the Eaſt, when they appear in public, are not permitted the uſe of this reſource againſt the

was thrown over his head, and he died in a few minutes after he was brought into the Palace (T).

The Viſir, the Mufti, and the great Officers of the Empire, came immediately to the Seraglio, to certify the death of Sultan Oſman, and pay their reſpects to his ſucceſſor Muſtapha III. the eldeſt of the remaining Sons of Sultan Achmet. The ſame day the Cannon of the Seraglio made known his death to the people, and the Muczzins (*l*), and public Criers, proclaimed the new Emperor.

Mourning, though in uſe among the Tartars, is not worn by the Turks; but although this manner of paying reſpect to our deceaſed relations is certainly of little

intemperature of the air; it is forbidden by cuſtom. The ſame motive which obliges them to appear, allows them to wear nothing by which they may be concealed.

(*l*) The Muczzins are the criers of the Moſques, who ſummon the true Believers to prayers, by ſaying, in a kind of ſinging tone, God is great, God is God, there is but one God; haſten to good works, haſten to prayers, God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet. This laſt phraſe is likewiſe their profeſſion of faith.

con-

conſequence, the haſte with which they bury their dead as certainly is not ſo. It ſeems as if this Nation, naturally ſo grave and phlegmatic, poſſeſſed activity in that buſineſs alone. They ſcarcely wait five or ſix hours, before they perform this laſt duty to their Kindred; and are not prevented by any fear leſt thoſe they bury ſhould not be yet actually dead (*m*).

To this abominable hurry, the Turks, who carry the Bier, add an extreme quickneſs of pace. The Mahometans believe the Deceaſed to remain in a ſuffering ſtate, till the end of this Ceremony.

The interment of the Grand Seignior does not differ from that of others, except in the importance of the great Officers who accompany the body to the Moſque. Of the latter it is cuſtomary for each Emperor

(*m*) The misfortunes which reſult from this practice are ſcarcely ever known. Yet I have ſeen a Turk taken up again, who, recovering from his inſenſibility, had ſtrength enough to cry out, and make himſelf heard; but he was ſtill in ſome danger of becoming the Victim of Ceremony, or, rather, of the diſlike which the Judge and Iman diſcovered to reſtore the Dues they had already received.

to build one; and in the Court of the Moſque a Cupola is conſtructed, under which the Corpſe is to be depoſited: and, it is to be remembered that, the Turkiſh Emperors are buried with the ſame celerity as their Subjects.

Though more than thirty years had elapſed, ſince the death of Sultan Achmet, Father of the new Emperor, he had not in that interval acquired any great information or improvement. Shut up, during this long interval, in the apartments aſſigned him, with ſome Eunuchs to wait on him, and Women to amuſe him, the equality of his age, with that of the Prince's who had a right to precede him, allowed him but little hope of reigning in his turn; and he had, beſides, well grounded reaſons for a more ſerious uneaſineſs. His two Brothers had given no heirs to the Empire; a circumſtance at which the People had murmured during the laſt reign, and new fears, or new diſturbances, of this kind, might coſt him his life. An attempt to ſhorten his days had, already, been made by thoſe means which

which a barbarous Policy employs, without ſcruple, in theſe Countries, to cut off the Princes who are near the Throne; but he had been preſerved from it by his ſuſpicions, and his knowledge of Medicine.

This Prince, as well as his Brothers, had very ſhort legs, and did not appear to advantage, except on Horſeback. A paleneſs, which was attributed to the effects of the Poiſon, large Eyes, ſituated high in his head, with which he could ſee but indiſtinctly, and a Noſe rather too flat, ſeemed no great ſigns of vivacity or underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, the love of Novelty made him a Favourite with the Multitude. The Great believed him weak, and that he would eaſily ſubmit to be governed entirely by their directions; the People flattered themſelves he would be profuſe, and all were equally deceived. We ſhall, hereafter, ſee this Emperor in ſituations which will make us acquainted with his Abilities, and Manners; and the kind diſtinctions with which I have been honoured by him will afford me many

opportunities, completely to delineate his Character.

The firſt care of an Ottoman Prince, when he comes to the Throne, is, to let his Beard grow (*n*); to which Sultan Muſtapha added the dying of it black, in order that it might be more apparent on the day of his firſt appearance, when he was to gird on the Sabre; a Ceremony by which he takes poſſeſſion of the Throne, and is equivalent to our Coronation. It is always performed in the Moſque of Youb, a little village famed for its earthen ware, and its dairies, and ſituated near the bottom of the Harbour, forming a kind of Suburb to the City. Every thing was prepared for this Solemnity on the ninth day; and, ſoon in the morning, all the ſtreets, from the Seraglio to Youb, were lined, on both ſides, by Janiſſaries,

(*n*) The Princes, ſhut up in the Seraglio, wear only the Muſtachio, nor do any young perſons ſuffer their beards to grow, but when they come to receive ſome title or office; and they then term it becoming Wiſe.

dreſſed

dreſſed in the habits and bonnets which they wear on days of Ceremony, but without Arms, and with their hands croſſed before them (*o*).

The Miniſters, great Officers, Profeſſors of the Law, and, in general, all thoſe perſons who by their ſituation were connected with the Government, came early to the Seraglio, in order to precede the Grand Seignior in the Proceſſion, which begins as Proceſſions do with us, by the Perſonages who are of leaſt conſequence, and who file off without order. They are all on horſeback, and are each of them encircled by a number of Valets, on foot, according to the rank and fortune of their Maſters.

The Profeſſors of the Law are remarkable by the largeneſs of their Turbans, and the ſimplicity of their horſes trappings; but the Janiſſary Aga, accom-

(*o*) Except the red Shoes, great blue Breeches, and Bonnet, which they are obliged to wear, the Janiſſaries dreſs themſelves in what colour they pleaſe, and their Uniform only conſiſts in the Cut of their clothes.

panied

panied by his Attendants, makes the moſt ſplendid appearance of any of the great Officers. Beſide the number of Valets, who ſurround his horſe, he is preceded by two rows of Tchorbadgi (*p*), who, on the right and left, march on foot before their General. Theſe Officers precede him in yellow boots, each one with a white Staff in his hand, and a Helmet on his head, embroidered with gold, and ornamented with a grand Plume of feathers, after the Roman Manner, forming a long lane of ſuch creſts, at the bottom of which appears the Janiſſary Aga, who overtops all his numerous Attendants. But an object really curious is the dreſs of the Achetchi-Bachi (*q*), who walks on foot in the middle of the two rows of Colonels which I have juſt mentioned, and only ſome few paces before his Gene-

(*p*) Colonel of the Janiſſaries; the word literally tranſlated, ſignifies the giver of ſoup.

(*q*) Principal of the Kitchen: each Company has its own, who acts as Major; he takes care of the ſupply of proviſions and other matters, and he who belongs to the Janiſſary Aga fills the office of Major General.

ral.

ral. An enormous Dalmatic, of black leather, loaded with great knobs of ſilver, covers a kind of waiſtcoat, likewiſe of leather, and no leſs ſtrangely ornamented. This latter is faſtened on by a large Girdle, with great hooks, and a Claſp which ſuſtains two enormous Knives, the handles of which almoſt entirely hide his face; while Spoons, Bowls, and other Utenſils of ſilver, hung by chains of the ſame metal, ſcarcely leave him the uſe of his legs. He is indeed ſo loaded that, on all public occaſions which oblige this Officer to wear this extraordinary dreſs, he is propped up by two Janiſſaries, who ſupport his Ornaments.

The Tchaooche-Bachi, one of the Miniſters of the Porte, whoſe Office principally relates to civil affairs, is preceded by the Bailiffs, of whom he is the chief, each of them bearing an Oſtrich's feather on the ſide of his Turban. The Boſtandgi-Bachi is, in like manner, preceded by two rows of Boſtandgis, with their Staves in their hands, whoſe red habits and head-dreſſes preſent to the eye a very agreeable uni-

uniformity. Theſe different Officers of the Empire, as they paſs along, ſalute, on the right and left, the Janiſſaries, drawn up on each ſide, who return the Compliment by bowing; but pay this honour with much more reſpect to the Turbans only of the Grand Seignior, which are carried in State before his Highneſs. Two of theſe Head-dreſſes, ornamented with feathers, were at firſt only intended to change that which the Emperor wears, in caſe he thought proper; but this Cuſtom, merely meant for convenience, has at length become a matter of Oſtentation.

Theſe Turbans, placed on a kind of Tripods of a ſcarlet colour, are carried in the right hand by two men on horſeback, ſurrounded by a great number of Tchoadars; and theſe Officers are to incline the Turbans (though but a little) to the right and left, while the Janiſſaries, by ſeven or eight at a time, make a profound reverence to ſalute the Imperial Plumes.

In this proceſſion, not leſs curious to be ſeen than difficult to be deſcribed, the Viſir and the Mufti, both clad in white,

the

the firſt in ſattin, and the ſecond in cloth, walk on the ſide of each other, ſurrounded by their attendants, and preceded by led horſes and the Chatirs (*r*) of the Viſir. On the ſide of this Miniſter walk the Alay-Tchaooches (*s*), who keep their ſilver rods, hung round with little chains, and reſembling children's corals, in conſtant motion, with the noiſe of which he is attended quite into his Palace. A covered Chariot, rudely made and ill carved, but richly gilt, and containing a little Sofa, commonly follows the Mufti, to receive him when he is fatigued.

Afterwards come the Captains of the Body Guards, and the principal and under Equerries, who precede the led horſes of the Grand Seignior. Theſe horſes are covered with very rich trappings, which trail on the ground, and leave nothing to be ſeen but the head of the Animal, the front of which is ornamented by a large Plume of

(*r*) A ſort of Footmen, diſtinguiſhed by red Girdles.

(*s*) A kind of Law-Serjeants, with wands, who attend on the Pacha.

Heron

Heron-feathers: they likewiſe each carry a Horſe-tail, hung to the throat-band of the bridle, and a Sabre on the ſaddle, with a Mace, paſſed through the cireingle, both covered by a Buckler. Each Horſe is led by two men on foot, who hold each a leathern thong, faſtened to the head of the Animal. Two rows of Aſſekis (*t*), immediately follow after, with their Sabres ſlung over their ſhoulders, and white Staves in their hands, and a troop of Zuluſtchis (*u*), with ſcarlet Helmets and Lances erect, walk, in like Manner, in two rows, and precede the Peiſks. Theſe, clad after the Roman Manner, carry the Faſces, ſurmounted with a ſilver hatchet; and march before the Solacks (*v*), who wear a kind of

(*t*) The Aſſekis are a Company choſen from among the Boſtandgis.

(*u*) The Zuluſtchis are another Company of the Body-Guards. They are richly dreſſed, and wear two long ringlets of Hair, which, faſtened to their Bonnet, near the Temples, reach below their Shoulders.

(*v*) Solacks ſignify left-handed men, who guard the perſon of the Sovereign. Thoſe on his right muſt draw their Arrows with their left hand, whence, no doubt, their name.

Buſkin,

Buſkin, are armed with Bows and Arrows, and bear rich Helmets, ornamented with Plumes of feathers, ſhaped like a Fan, the extremities of which, uniting, form two lines of theſe Creſts, between which the Grand Seignior proceeds, alone, on horſeback. The Plumes he bears riſe above this ſuperb Group, and his approach inſpires a melancholy Silence; the Janiſſaries bow, profoundly, until the line of feathers has entirely hid the Emperor from their ſight; while his Highneſs, on his part, has the goodneſs to return the Salute, by a ſlight motion of his head, to the right and left.

An infinite number of Tchoadars ſurround and follow the Grand Seignior. They encompaſs, at the ſame time, the Seliktar Aga, who carries the Imperial Sabre on his ſhoulder, and is clad in a habit of Cloth of Gold, which is the only Turkiſh Dreſs that fits the ſhape.

The Kiſſar-Aga (*w*) next appears, followed by the Kaſnadar-Aga, who cloſes the

(*w*) The Kiſſar-Aga is known to be the Chief of the Eunuchs. He has for his ſecond the Kaſnadar-Aga, alſo

the Proceſſion, and diſtributes money to the People, who run after him in crowds. The Capidgilar-Kiayaſſy (*x*), and the Boſtandgi-Bachi, who precede the Grand Seignior whenever he goes out in public, are obliged, on his return to the Seraglio, to alight at the firſt Court, and go before his Highneſs. When they approach it, they increaſe their pace, proſtrate themſelves at his horſe's feet, and introduce him into the ſecond Court, walking before him to the place where he alights, and is received by the Officers of the interior apartments.

The celebrated Racub Pacha, having buried his old Maſter, and inſtalled his Succeſſor, preſently perceived that Sultan Muſtapha, though ſufficiently ignorant, was more active than he had ſuppoſed, and muſt have employment. I have al-

alſo black, and a Eunuch, whoſe Office is that of Keeper of the Privy Purſe. In public Solemnities, he ſees the money, appointed for that purpoſe, thrown among the People.

(*x*) Captain of the Guards, at the Porte.

ready

ready pourtrayed the character of this Miniſter; and it will occaſion no ſurpriſe, to learn, that his firſt care was to cauſe his Maſter inhumanly to renew the Sumptuary Laws, and enforced them himſelf with all poſſible rigour. He was willing thus to amuſe the ignorance of the Prince, and render his authority odious to the People.

The firſt exertions of this authority were made with extreme violence and barbarity. The public Criers had ſcarcely finiſhed the Proclamation of the Law before the Grand Seignior, diſguiſed, as well as the Executors of his orders, who accompanied him, had already puniſhed thoſe Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, who were found clothed in the colours forbidden thoſe three Nations. An unfortunate Chriſtian Mendicant, who wore an old pair of yellow Slippers (*y*), juſt given him by a Turk, in charity, was ſtopt by the Grand Seignior; and this

(*y*) The Turks only are allowed to wear Slippers of this colour.

excuſe could not ſave his life. Every day produced ſome new Horror.

The Turks, themſelves, were ſubjected to this Law. It preſcribed the kind of Furs to be worn by every Rank, and determined the form of the Habit, and height of the Head-dreſs of the Women. The Europeans were not excepted, but by ſubmitting to wear the Habits of their reſpective Countries; and this ſubmiſſion ought always to have ſaved their Ambaſſadors from the mortification of ſeeing thoſe they protected beaten, and ſuffering other ill treatment, of which the Turks would not even have had an idea, if they had been ſeen only in foreign Dreſſes.

Two unfortunate Events, however, contributed to break the force of this oppreſſion; for it is only by new diſaſters that Humanity, when ſubjugated by Deſpotiſm, can experience relief from thoſe it ſuffers. And here I muſt remark that if, at Conſtantinople, any one is aſked concerning his Age, the anſwer will always refer the Enquirer to the year of ſome great

great Plague, or Famine, ſome Rebellion, or Conflagration.

The Fleet of the Grand Seignior lay in the Archipelago, employed in collecting, from the wretched Inhabitants, a Tribute which this mode of levying always quadruples; while the Caravan of Pilgrims for Mecca was on its way towards Damaſcus. Conſtantinople, at the ſame time, received intelligence that the Admiral's Ship, while the Officers and the greater part of the Men were on ſhore, had been ſeized on, and carried into Malta, by the Slaves who were on board; and that the Caravan, notwithſtanding it was eſcorted by the Pacha, with Soldiers and Artillery, had been attacked and cut in pieces by the Arabs of the Deſert. By theſe two Cataſtrophes, the Superſtition and Vanity of the Nation were hurt at the ſame time: the Multitude could no longer be kept within bounds; and the Conſternation of the Seraglio encouraging the inſolence of the People, they dared to murmur openly againſt the Grand Seignior,

and caſt on him all the blame of theſe unfortunate accidents.

As a violent Commotion now threatened the eſtabliſhed Order of the State, it could not but make Racub Pacha very uneaſy; and that crafty Miniſter ſoon found an expedient to divert the attention of the People, and employ it on an agreeable Object. The recent Famine ſupplied him with the means. He amuſed the Public with the magnificent project of cutting through Aſia Minor, by a navigable Canal (z), for the conveyance of commodities, and to prevent their being expoſed to the danger and uncertainty of Sea-voyages. For this end, it was neceſſary to unite the River Zacharia to the City of Iſnic, the ancient Nice, by taking advantage of a Lake, ſituated half way between them, the waters of which would ſave the expence of Sluices; and which, as ſeveral Rivers might be

(z) Racub Pacha, more informed than the Turks commonly are, had, no doubt, taken this hint from Pliny.

turned

turned into it, would not be liable to become dry. The Dragoman of the Porte was ſent to requeſt me of M. de Vergennes, and I repaired thither to conſult on the Plan of Operations. Several Officers were likewiſe ſent to take Surveys of the Situations on the Spot; but this Scheme, which had been merely a Pretext, vaniſhed with the Diſcontents which it had cauſed to be forgotten.

This event made me perceive the profound Ignorance of the Turks, of which I have ſince met with ſo many more inſtances. As ſoon as I arrived at the Porte, I was preſented to a Greek, who, they told me, would be of great ſervice in the undertaking, as he was the moſt capable man in the Empire. I queſtioned him concerning the levelling, and was ſoon able to judge of his abilities, when he ſhewed me a ſmall Braſs Plate, with which he was to work, and which I had not at firſt perceived, becauſe it was ſurrounded by a great number of Spectators, all loſt in admiration.

As to the unhappy Pilgrims of the Caravan, they were looked upon as ſo many Martyrs; and the generoſity of the King of France having bought, at Malta, and returned to the Turks, the Veſſel and the Admiral's Flag (*a*) which the Slaves had taken away, completely reſtored, for a time at leaſt, tranquillity to Conſtantinople.

However, the activity of the Grand Seignior happily found other employment than the Sumptuary Laws. The ſtate of the Coin, and the overlooking of the Accounts, occupied him entirely. He reformed the Abuſes in the expences of his Haram, and ſettled the annual main-

(*a*) This Flag was held ſo much the more valuable, as it was a preſent from Mecca to the Grand Seignior. The Turks honour it with a ſuperſtitious Reverence. The names of the Diſciples of the Prophet, in the four corners, a Sabre, with two Blades, for the eſcutcheon, and ſome paſſages of the Koran round the border, worked in ſilver, upon a crimſon ſtuff, give this Taliſmanick Character, which muſt always render its Loſs more diſtreſſing than its Poſſeſſion can be uſeful.

tenance

tenance of his Women (*b*). The Kiſlar-Aga loſt, in this Reign, all the importance of his Office, by loſing the Adminiſtration of the Vakoofs, with which the Viſir was entruſted. But a ſpeculation, always dangerous for the Sovereign, to which his Highneſs was induced by one of his Favourites, debaſed the Coin to ſo great a degree that the Makers of Counterfeit Money, in Turkey, are, at preſent, beneficial to the Public; for, whatever adulteration they uſe, the Coin of the Grand Seignior is, ſtill, inferior, in real value, to that which they fabricate (U).

The Revenues of the Empire were not increaſed by this contrivance. The Pachas, who govern the Provinces, and at the ſame time collect the Taxes, were not the leſs avaricious. The Sovereign became only the more attentive to ſtrip them of the

(*b*) I have been aſſured that the article of Dreſs, for the Women, had been rated in the Books at about 250 Livres, or Ten Guineas of our Money, per ann. which ought not to appear expenſive.

produce of their Extortion (*c*). Their Oppreſſions continued, and the danger of appearing rich only impeded Prodigality, which is a kind of Reſtitution.

Attacked in its circulation, Commerce quickly experienced that kind of languor which never fails to produce the greateſt diſorders. The Artiſans no longer had work, and the want of employment, joined with poverty, led the Populace to every kind of miſchief. The hope of Pillage, and deſire to avenge themſelves of the Rich, multiplied Incendiaries.

(*c*) This kind of Confiſcation enriches the private Treaſure of the Grand Seignior. The complaints of the Provinces againſt their Oppreſſors furniſh him with a knowledge of their Fortune, and the Juſtice of the Sovereign, violently incenſed, without doubt, makes them amends, by ſeizing on the Sums extorted. The wretched Complainers obtain nothing but the Head of the Criminal, and the new Oppreſſor, who ſupplies his place, almoſt always makes them regret the old. The ſyſtem of finances, in Turkey, conſiſts in placing on the ground a great number of Sponges, which, drinking up the Dew, give the Sovereign an opportunity to collect it, by ſqueezing them into the Reſervoir, of which he alone keeps the Key.

Theſe,

These, to effect their purpose, commonly use Coundaks, which consist of a small bundle of Splinters of Pine-wood, in the middle of which is a piece of Amadoue (*d*), wrapped up in Cotton dipt in Sulphur. This they secretly place behind a door which they find open, or in a window, and having set it on fire make off. No more is necessary to cause the most terrible ravages in a City, where the Houses being built of Wood, and painted with Oil of Aspic, are easily reduced to Ashes by the first Villain who makes the attempt.

This expedient, which often escapes the vigilance of the Proprietors, added to the usual causes of Fires, for some time gave frequent alarms; but at length the mischief was removed by the pregnancy of one of the Women of the Seraglio, and above all by the activity which this news restored to Commerce. The presents, customary on such an occasion, were prepared, and the thoughts of every one em-

(*d*) *A kind of combustible Fungus, used in France, and elsewhere, as Tinder is in England.* T.

ployed

ployed on the enſuing Donanemas (*e*), which now had not taken place during two Reigns; and the employment of Individuals re-eſtabliſhed a calm, of which this event inſured the duration, by adding to the authority of the Grand Seignior. In fact, of whatever ſex the Child who was to be born might prove, this pregnancy promiſed Heirs to the Empire. Sultan Muſtapha appeared in public with more Splendor, and a certainty of being received with Pleaſure. Some ſums of Money, diſtributed among the People, completely gained their attention and good-will; which is always ſure to be obtained by thoſe who are willing to be at ſome ſmall Expence, and know how to treat them with that little Addreſs which is neceſſary.

Murad Mollach was to blame in this reſpect; he had not ſufficiently courted the Multitude. His Friends had hinted to

(*e*) Public rejoicings for the birth of the Ottoman Princes. They commonly only take place on the Sea for the Princeſſes; but it was determined that, after ſo long a barrenneſs, the firſt Child ſhould be honoured with more than uſual rejoicings.

him

him that, in his ſituation, he ought to pay more regard to their good opinion, if he wiſhed to arrive at great Employments; in order, therefore, to pleaſe the Populace, and at the ſame time procure the favour of his Maſter, this Effendy, profiting by the opportunity, gave, in the Meadows of Buyukdera, an Entertainment; relative to that event which was the occaſion of the Public-Joy.

I ſhould imagine there are none but will be pleaſed with theſe minute details, as they afford the moſt exact picture of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Nation.

Two great Poſts, forty Feet diſtant from each other, ſupported a Cord faſtened to their upper ends. Round this Cord other ſmaller Cords were tied, to which Glaſs Lamps were fixed at convenient diſtances from the objects they were intended to illuminate (*f*). The Cypher of the Grand Seignior,

(*f*) Their great Moſques are illuminated in the ſame manner during the Ramazan. The principal Cord is faſtened to the Minarets, and Lamps are ſuſpended to it by Rings, ſo as to let them ſlide; each of them

Seignior, the repreſentation of his Barge, and words taken from the Koran, and applicable to the occaſion, decorated the Edifice during the three Days which this Entertainment laſted; while Rope-dancers, a company of Jewiſh Comedians, and ſome female Figure-dancers, amuſed the Spectators till the Night was far advanced. This ſpectacle became ſtill more worthy Curioſity, by the light of a ſcore of Chafing-Diſhes, of Iron, raiſed upon Stakes, in which a red flame was maintained, by burning Rags, dipt in Tar, and Pine Splinters.

Theſe diſmal Chandeliers were placed in a circle, to give light to the Dancers in the center, while Tents, prepared for Murad Mollach and his company, formed, together with the Multitudes who were preſent, a grand line of circumvallation, of which the Women of the Populace occupied a part. The Illumination, without this circle, was only intended to give

them is lighted at the Gallery of one of the Minarets; and from the Gallery of the oppoſite Minaret a ſmaller Cord is extended, by which they are drawn, replaced, and kept at convenient diſtances.

notice

notice of the Entertainment, of which the Comedy was the moſt valuable article.

A kind of Cage, three Feet ſquare by ſix Feet high, hung round with a Curtain, repreſents a Houſe, and contains one of the Jewiſh Actors dreſſed like a Woman. Another Jew, in the Habit of a young Turk, and ſuppoſed to be enamoured with the Lady of the Houſe, a Valet pleaſantly abſurd, a fourth Jew dreſſed like a Woman, and acting the part of the Gallant, a Huſband, who is impoſed upon, and, in ſhort, the Characters which we ſee every where, ſtand without and compoſe the Piece. But that which is to be met with no where elſe is the Denouement; every thing is acted, and nothing left to the Imagination of the Spectators; and if the Summons of the Muczzin is heard during theſe Interludes, the Muſulmen turn their Faces towards Mecca, while the Actors continue each to play his Part. I ſhall have ſaid enough of this ſtrange mixture of momentary Devotion and continued Indecency, to

thoſe

thoſe who perceive that this Picture, difficult to deſcribe, ought leſs to be deſcribed.

Some clumſy Rope-dancers, aukward Wreſtlers, ſtupid Buffoons, and female Figure-dancers, fill up the intervals between one Comedy and another. Among theſe laſt, whoſe merit certainly neither lies in the elegance of their ſtep nor propriety of their action, but who give infinite pleaſure to the Turks by that talent which is their characteriſtic, a young Girl, between ten and twelve Years old, diſtinguiſhed herſelf greatly; and when, at the end of every Dance, ſhe, according to cuſtom, went round with the Daira (*g*), to receive in Money the value of thoſe agreeable ideas which ſhe had raiſed in the company, the Turkiſh Lords, of Murad Mollach's Party, put her as it were up to auction, while they ſtuck Sequins (*h*) on her Forehead to prove their good-wiſhes.

(*g*) The Tabor on which they beat time.

(*h*) The Sequin is a piece of Gold, ſo light that, putting it on the Forehead, it will ſtick there for ſome time; and it is cuſtomary with the Turks ſo to recompenſe the agility of their Dancers.

The

The price of this Slave, whoſe figure, however, was not extraordinary, amounted to twelve Purſes (*i*), £750. which were given for her to the Merchant by an old Mollach, to purchaſe the fruitleſs pleaſure of perpetuating thoſe ideas he had loſt all hope of realizing.

Except in their public Feſtivals, when Licentiouſneſs is always extreme and always allowed, theſe actors never exhibit their talents but within the Walls of Houſes, when they celebrate Marriages, or give particular Entertainments. Theſe Companies, of wretched Buffoons, are either all Men or all Women; thoſe conſiſting of Women perform their parts within the Harams, with the ſame exactneſs, and as little reſerve, as the Comedians I have juſt mentioned. But Muſic is the cuſtomary and moſt familiar Amuſement of the Turks.

(*i*) The Turkiſh Purſe is a numerical value of 500 Piaſtres, and ought to correſpond to 1500 Livres, almoſt ſixty Guineas, were not the Coin of the Grand Seignior adulterated to ſuch a degree as to admit of no compariſon: the Exchange has been a long time advanced to 25 or 30 per cent. and has not yet riſen to the real difference.

Their

Their martial Muſic is of the moſt barbarous kind. Enormous hollow Trunks, beaten by Mallets, unite heavy noiſe to the lively and clear Notes of little Timbrels, which they accompany with Clarinets and ſhrill Trumpets, the tones of which are forced, to complete the moſt diſcordant Confuſion of Sounds that can be imagined.

Their Chamber Muſic is on the contrary very ſoft; and if its Monotony of Semitones, which is at firſt offenſive, ſhould be condemned, it muſt be allowed to poſſeſs a kind of melancholy expreſſion, with which the Turks are extremely affected. A Violin, with three ſtrings, raiſed to the pitch of the Guimbard; the Viol d'Amour which they have adopted; the Derviſe Flute, ſweeter than our German Flute; a ſort of Drum; a kind of Mandoline, with a long handle, and ſtrung with wire; the Pipe or Flute of Pan, and the Tabor, intended to render the Time more exact, compoſe this Orcheſtra; which is placed at the end of an Apartment, where the Muſicians, crouching down on their hams, play melodious and lively Airs without

written Muſic, but always in uniſon; while the Company, in a profound ſilence, become intoxicated with a languiſhing Enthuſiaſm, the ſmoke of their Pipes, and Pills of Opium.

Thoſe among the Turks, who have once given themſelves up to the immoderate uſe of Opium, are eaſily known by a kind of Rickets, which, in the end, this Poiſon never fails to produce. Not able to exiſt agreeably, except in this ſpecies of Intoxication, theſe perſons are particularly objects of curioſity when they are aſſembled in a part of Conſtantinople called Teriaky Tcharchiſſy, or the Market for the takers of Opium.

There, towards Evening, the lovers of this Drug are ſeen coming down all the Streets which lead to the *Solimany* (*k*); their pale and melancholy Figures would be ſufficient to raiſe our pity, did not their lengthened Necks, their Heads turned on one ſide, their Back Bone diſtorted, their Shoulder raiſed up to their Ear, and a number of other extravagant attitudes, which reſult

(*k*) The largeſt Moſque in Conſtantinople.

from their Diſeaſe, exhibit a Picture of the moſt ridiculous Nature.

A long row of little Shops are built againſt one of the Walls that ſurround the Square, within which is the Moſque. Theſe Shops are ſhaded by an Arbour which reaches from one to the other, and under which the Maſter takes care to place a little Sofa to accommodate his Gueſts, without ſtopping up the paſſage. The Cuſtomers arrive, and place themſelves in order, to take the Doſe which the habits each have contracted render neceſſary.

The Pills are diſtributed. Thoſe moſt uſed to the practice perhaps ſwallow four, larger than Olives, and each, immediately drinking a Glaſs of cold Water, waits in his particular attitude. An agreeable Reverie, at the end of three quarters of an hour, or an hour at moſt, never fails to animate theſe Automatons; cauſing them to throw themſelves into a thouſand different Poſtures, but always extravagant, and always merry. This is the moment when the Scene becomes moſt intereſting; all the Actors are happy, and each returns

home in a ſtate of total Irrationality, but likewiſe in the entire and full enjoyment of Happineſs not to be procured by Reaſon. Diſregarding the Ridicule of thoſe they meet, who divert themſelves by making them talk abſurdly, each imagines and looks and feels himſelf poſſeſſed of whatever he wiſhes. The Reality of enjoyment often gives leſs Satisfaction.

The ſame Scene is to be found in private houſes, where the Maſter ſets the example of this ſtrange Intemperance. It principally infects the Profeſſors of the Law; and all the Derviſes formerly intoxicated themſelves with Opium, till they thought proper to indulge in an exceſs of Wine. There are two kinds of theſe Monks, in Turkey, very diſtinct from each other, and equally remarkable. The difference ariſes from the difference of the Rules impoſed on them by their reſpective Founders. That of the Mewliach Derviſes is to turn round like Whirligigs, to the ſound of ſoft Muſic, and ſeek a holy Intoxication in the Giddineſs which muſt naturally reſult from this abſurd exerciſe, if the habit

bit of thus turning round did not preſerve them from Dizzineſs and Drunkenneſs, which they have recourſe to the Tavern to accompliſh. The Rule of the other Monks, named Tacta-Tepen (*l*), more melancholy, has, alſo, more barbarity. It conſiſts in walking, ſolemnly, in a row, one after the other, round their Chapel, and pronouncing the name of God with a loud voice, and much exertion, at each ſtroke on a Drum, beaten for that purpoſe; the ſtrokes on which, growing gradually quicker, become at laſt ſo rapid that theſe Wretches are forced to undergo a violent labour of the Lungs, and the moſt devout never cloſe the Proceſſion without ſpitting Blood. Their appearance is always ſad and ſurly; and theſe Monk are ſo perſuaded of the Sanctity of their Practice, and ſo certain of pleaſing Heaven by their Howlings, that they never look on the reſt of Mankind but with the moſt profound Contempt.

(*l*) Beaters of Boards, which perhaps at firſt were their only Inſtruments.

There

There are likewiſe, in Turkey, other Monks and Santons, who run about the Country. To meet them in a Wood might be dangerous; under the Cloak of Religion, they are careſſed by ſome Devotees, but they are the worſt company any where to be found (X).

Thoſe of theſe Derviſes who are ſufficiently impudent to take advantage of the general Ignorance of the Turks ſet up for Prophets, and propheſy with impunity. If it happen that the Event juſtify the Predictions they have hazarded, they are taken for Saints, and held in great eſteem; nay thoſe who, for want of Succeſs, can only paſs for Fools, find, nevertheleſs, admiſſion every where. Nothing can reſiſt their Effrontery; the name of God, prophaned by theſe Raſcals, always impoſes on the ſuperſtitious Multitude; and I have ſeen one of them inſolently come and ſeat himſelf by the ſide of the Viſir, whilſt I have been privately diſcourſing with him, and People of great Conſequence kept at a diſtance. The Fanaticiſm of the Public obliges the

moſt enlightened perſons to ſubmit; and the moſt eminent Turks have no other way to get rid of this Rabble, but by giving them money, which only ſerves to render them more troubleſome, and more inſolent.

Racub Pacha, better informed than the Turks commonly are, either to baniſh Ignorance, or leave behind him a Monument of his taſte for Literature, cauſed a grand Cupola to be built at his own expence, in which he founded a public Library: there was then no ſuch thing at Conſtantinople. Ten or twelve hundred Perſian and Arabic Manuſcripts, which this Viſir had collected, and preſented to this Foundation, were ranged upon ſhelves, and diſpoſed in Cones, in the center of the Rotunda built for that purpoſe. A Librarian was appointed, the Public had the right of Admiſſion at ſtated hours, and Racub took care to provide for its Support; but no care can effect the Improvement of the Turks, while the difficulties of their Language confine all their learning to reading and writing.

The

The Art of Printing ought to have advanced it. One Ibrahim Effendi had introduced this Art, ſo uſeful for the Multiplication of Copies; he even printed ſeveral Works which had but a very poor Sale, though he had choſen thoſe moſt likely to ſucceed. Indeed, what Succeſs could be expected from an Art which it was evident muſt reduce to nothing the Talents of thoſe who were conſidered as the Learned? They became, at once, Judge and Party. Printing could not expreſs the varieties and nicety of their ligatures, it was therefore deſpiſed, and Ibrahim ſhut up his ſhop.

Racub, himſelf, was not exempt from that falſe Science, which prides itſelf in overcoming difficulties. He took a pleaſure in joining his Letters in an unintelligible Manner, and above all things loved to play upon words. I have heard ſeveral pleaſant ſtrokes of his, of this kind; but which, as they depend on the Gloſſary, cannot be tranſlated.

Diveſted, by the natural ſtrength of his Mind, of all thoſe Prejudices with which

the Turks are almoſt generally debaſed, this Viſir diverted himſelf, even on the moſt ſhocking Subjects. It will be eaſily imagined that Mahometaniſm itſelf was not ſecure from his Jeſts. An European one day appeared at the Porte, and ſignified, more by Signs than Words, that he deſired to turn Turk, and that he was a German. With the neceſſity of calling ſome one to explain his meaning concurred that Article of their Treaties which requires the preſence of a Dragoman, before any European ſhall be permitted to renounce his Religion. One was found, belonging to the German Embaſſy, who, being brought to the Viſir, informed him that the new-comer, born at Dantzick, had travelled with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople, purpoſely to embrace Mahometaniſm. This Reſolution appeared too extraordinary, to Racub, for him not to attempt to diſcover the real Motive, and the Candidate, being again interrogated, devoutly anſwered, that Mahomet had appeared to him, to invite him to merit the Bleſſings attendant on Iſlamiſm.

Is

Is not this a ſtrange Knave? ſaid the Viſir. Mahomet has appeared to him at Dantzick! To an Infidel! Though in the courſe of ſeventy years, during which I have been punctual to my five Prayers a day, he has never done me the like Honour. Inform him, Dragoman, that I am not to be deceived with Impunity; that he certainly has killed his Father and Mother, and that I will hang him up, immediately, unleſs he tell me the truth. Terrified by this Menace, the Traveller confeſſed that he had been a Schoolmaſter at Dantzick, where he had had the Misfortune to occaſion ſome diſagreeable Suſpicions; that the Parents of the Children, with whom he had been intruſted, had given him a great deal of trouble, and the Magiſtrates were diſpoſed to treat him with Rigour; but, to eſcape their Sentence, and being well informed that, at Conſtantinople, ſo much noiſe is not made about ſo trifling a Matter, he had come there to change his Religion, and hoped to be ſoon ſufficiently inſtructed to contribute

tribute to the Education of the Turkiſh Youth. Let him make his Profeſſion of Faith, ſaid the Viſir, and take the new Convert to ſuch a Mollach, mentioning his name, that he may provide for him; they were made for each other, I have ſent him a Companion; but let them charge the Iman of the quarter to inſtruct them both, and inform them, that no Religion has ever tolerated their Practices.

The Cuſtom, conſtantly followed by the Turkiſh Emperors, of building a Moſque, and endowing it, has ſo multiplied theſe Temples that the ſituations in which they can be erected are become very ſcarce in Conſtantinople. Sultan Mahomet had determined to build one at Scutari; he died, and it was finiſhed by Sultan Oſman. Muſtapha, however, found means to purchaſe, in the Capital, a piece of Ground large enough for the Moſque he intended to build. This Prince propoſed to ſupply the loſs of Houſes he was obliged to pull down, and endow his Moſque, by conſtructing a Mole on a

ſhallow

ſhallow part of the Sea of Marmora, near the walls of the City, in order to form a new quarter.

The ignorance of the Artiſts ſtruggled a long time, to no purpoſe, againſt the Waves of the Sea: and Avarice, which always learns, to its coſt, that there is no true Oeconomy but in well timed expence, was at length obliged to yield to Neceſſity. All the money which had been laviſhed till then was thrown away; every thing was to be begun again; new expences to be incurred, and recourſe was had to Caiſſons; this laſt expedient ſucceeded, and the Work was completed (Y).

The greater part of the Turks, who were Proprietors of the Houſes which were bought to make room for the Moſque, became the Tenants of the new Habitations, and Farmers of the new Temple, which was finiſhed under the Reign of its Founder. Either the Intereſt or Religious Zeal of the Proprietors prevented Muſtapha from meeting any Obſtacle, to the Purchaſe of the Houſes, neceſſary for the Execution of his

his plan. Sultan Soliman, the greateſt of the Ottoman Princes, had not been ſo fortunate on a like occaſion; and this Anecdote appears, to me, the more intereſting as it will furniſh an idea of the legal value of property in Turkey.

The ſituation of the Solimany had been determined, and the Sultan ſeemed likely to meet with no difficulty in making the neceſſary purchaſes, when a Jew, who poſſeſſed a Houſe of ſmall value, in the center of this piece of Ground, refuſed to part with it at any Price. Large offers were made in vain; the Iſraelite was inflexible; and his obſtinacy prevailed over his avarice. All the Courtiers of Sultan Soliman, accuſtomed to ſee every oppoſition bow before that Prince, pleaſed themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing the Jew's Houſe eraſed, and himſelf dragged to puniſhment. But happy the Princes who confound not the Sovereign with the Man; nor believe it allowable to uſe their Authority to gratify their Revenge. Doubly happy they who wait till Juſtice has decided, even in their own Cauſe; and whoſe

whoſe greatneſs of Soul is not content with the approbation of thoſe by whom they are ſurrounded.

Such was Sultan Soliman; he deſcended from the Throne to conſult the Law, and wrote thus to the Mufti: A Man deſires to build a Temple to the Divinity; all the Muſſulmen, Proprietors of the Ground on which it is to be erected, are in haſte to participate in ſo good a work: one only, and he a Jew, refuſes all offers. What puniſhment does he deſerve? None, replied the Mufti: Property is ſacred, without diſtinction of Individuals; and a Temple may not be erected to God, in violation of ſo Holy a Law. It is favourable to the deſire which the Jew, no doubt, has, to leave his Children a property, the value of which they would, perhaps, ſoon diſſipate; but it is the right of the Sovereign to inſiſt on hiring any Ground, for which he has occaſion: A Contract, for the hire of the Ground, muſt, therefore, be made out to this Jew and his Deſcendants, and then the Houſe may be pulled down, and the

Moſque built, without fear that the Prayers of the Muſſulmen, offered up therein, ſhould be rejected. The Decree of the Mufti was executed.

The founding of Moſques is commonly accompanied by that of public Schools, where the neighbouring Children go to learn to repeat their Prayers (Z). Many rich perſons likewiſe conſtruct Fountains, and Namas-Giacks (*m*), in order to point out, to the devout Muſſulman, the direction of Mecca. It is principally in the Country that this practice prevails. Superſtition has multiplied theſe little Foundations; they are worth a great number of Indulgences, for which the Turks, who obtain them, eaſily find a ſpeedy ſale (A).

Thoſe which the perſons in Office have need of, to ſave them in this World, are ſold rather more dear; and the neceſſity

(*m*) Places provided with what is neceſſary for their Prayers. A Stone, on which is commonly written their Profeſſion of Faith, is turned to the Eaſt, in ſuch a Manner as to point out the Direction of Mecca. There is likewiſe a Fountain for the Performance of their Ablutions.

they

they are under to gain the good-will of the Grand Seignior incites Avarice, Ambition, and Fear, to an infinity of Speculations, many of which are of no effect. The moſt œconomical, without doubt, when it ſucceeds, is to get the Sultan to accept ſome Female Slave who ſhall pleaſe him, and be ſufficiently grateful to employ her Credit, in favour of her former Maſter. I have ſeen, at my wife's mother's, one of thoſe Georgians, intended by Aſma, the Sultana, for the ſuperlative honour of amuſing his Highneſs; and I found nothing very remarkable in her, except that ſhe was eighteen years of age, of a middling ſize, extremely robuſt, and one who might have paſſed for a handſome Bar-Girl. She had, indeed, great black Eyes, the beauty of which, common enough in Turkey, would have been more conſpicuous any where elſe; but they were inanimate; and the Surma, which blackened them, did not render them more agreeable.

I will not incur the Reproach of neglecting to give ſome Account of this famous

famous Drug, ſo much uſed throughout Aſia; it is a black impalpable Powder, and ſo volatile as to ſpread itſelf, like a fine Down, upon a ſmall braſs wire, fixed in the Cork of the Bottle which contains it. The method of uſing it is to take out the Wire, to which the Cork ſerves for a handle, without its touching the edges of the Bottle, which would rub off the Powder, and apply its Extremity to the interior corner of the Eye, reſting upon it the two Eyelids, and drawing it ſoftly toward the Temples, in order to leave, within the Eyelids, two black ſtreaks, which give to fine Eyes a Harſhneſs they do not naturally poſſeſs, and which the Turks take for an Air of Tenderneſs.

What will appear much more extraordinary is that the Men themſelves, and even Old Men, are Guilty of this Coquettry. The uſe of the Surma is almoſt general. It is true, they pretend that it ſtrengthens the Sight; but it is more certain that its Effect is not pleaſing (*n*).

(*n*) This Cuſtom is leſs frequent among the common People, and ſeems to belong more particularly to Opulence,

Every thing which can contribute to preſerve Beauty, or ſupply its abſence, is ſought after, in this Country, with extreme avidity; and the Chiotes are, at Conſtantinople, in poſſeſſion of this Quackery: but their Receipts, to freſhen the Complexion, cannot put off the moment when it muſt ceaſe to appear ruddy; they might even be accuſed of haſtening the deſtruction of

Opulence, and a kind of Inactivity neceſſary for this ſpecies of Beauty; for it is plain that this Impalpable Powder, carefully placed on the edge of the Eyelids, would ſpread itſelf diſagreeably on any profuſe Perſpiration. Yet the lower Rank of People, ever the moſt numerous, whoſe Labour impoſes daily a tax on wealthy Idleneſs, have alſo their peculiar Decoration; it conſiſts, as in moſt Uncultivated Nations, in covering their Arms and Legs, and ſometimes their Breaſts, with figures drawn by Punctures, and which before they are indented are rubbed over with ſome Colour, that ſinks in and is retained. The blue Colour produced by Gunpowder is the moſt common, and Prejudice furniſhes moſt of the Subjects of this ſtrange Ornament. The names of Jeſus and Mahomet, diſtinguiſh the Chriſtians and the Turks, who are Fellow-Labourers, and Gallantry comes in for its ſhare in the Embelliſhment. Amorous Verſes are often to be ſeen, mixed with Paſſages of the Koran; but the ſpecies of Gallantry, intended, is not always ſo preſciſely aſcertained but what it may be miſtaken.

Beauty in Turkey, did not the immoderate uſe of Hot Baths deſtroy it ſtill more effectually than the Sulima (*o*).

The conſtruction of theſe Baths ought to be deſcribed, in order to calculate the reſult, after having examined their effects.

Two ſmall Chambers, built with Brick, and faced with Marble or Plaſter, communicate, and are each enlightened by ſmall Cupolas cut in chequers. This little edifice is commonly joined to the Houſe by a ſmall Room, in which they undreſs: double Doors, folding over, and liſted with Felt, ſhut in the firſt and ſecond part of the Stove.

A Wood Fire is kept up in a ſubterranean Vault, the entrance to which is without. This Fire-place is under the farthermoſt Chamber, and heats a Caldron immediately beneath the Marble Floor, which ſerves as a Ceiling to the Vault. Pipes, placed within the Walls, come from the inſide of the Caldron, and go out at the

(*o*) The Sulima is a kind of paint, to whiten the Skin, and the principal property of which is to render it ſhining.

Cupola,

Cupola, to let the Water evaporate, which is kept continually boiling. Other Tubes, communicating with a Reſervoir, are likewiſe contained within the brick work, and furniſh the inſide with cold Water, by the means of Cocks, placed at the ſide of thoſe which yield the warm Water. Small ſeats of ſmooth Wood are made to ſit on, and drains cut in the Marble to carry off the Water which is thrown down.

Theſe private Baths, always heated twenty-four Hours before they are uſed, by being thus conſtructed, have ſo great a degree of heat, that, after being entirely undreſſed in the exterior Chamber, and having put on very high ſandals of Wood, to keep the Feet from being burnt by the Marble Floor, it is impoſſible to enter the firſt Room, till you have ſtopt a moment between the two Doors to let the Lungs dilate; after which you cannot enter the ſecond Stove, under which the heat is moſt active, without taking the ſame precautions: and it is probable, that the air of this Room bears the ſame proportion to that of the firſt, as this firſt does to

the external air. A ſudden perſpiration, ruſhing through all the pores, is felt immediately as they are entered; but the violence of this heat does not prevent the Women from ſtaying in theſe Baths five or ſix Hours together, and returning to them very frequently.

Thoſe who have not private Baths go to the public ones; they are always prepared, and contrived in ſuch a manner as to contain a great number of People.

Some of the Women, a little more delicate and ſcrupulous than the reſt, take the Bath for themſelves alone, and go thither with their particular friends. To complete the entertainment, they carry with them their Proviſion. The pleaſure of enjoying greater liberty, and converſing all Day together, no doubt makes them amends for having ſo ill choſen the place.

Bathing Women, named Telleks, with their Hands wrapped in little Bags of Serge, rub the ſkin till it is dry. They likewiſe make uſe of a very fine Clay, mixt up with Roſe Leaves, and afterwards dried in the Sun, as a kind of Soap, with which

which they rub the Head, pouring on it warm Water from large Metal Baſons: The Women's Hair, thus cleaned and perfumed, is afterwards tied up in a great number of ſmall Treſſes.

This deſcription wants the Pearls, the Diamonds, the rich Stuffs, and all the finery with which Lady Montague has been pleaſed to ornament theſe Baths. It is, indeed, difficult to believe, that that Lady ever actually entered them compleatly dreſſed, as has been aſſerted (*p*). It is moſt certain however, that a too frequent uſe of theſe Stoves, at length, opens the pores to ſuch a degree as to render them viſible. It is equally certain that ſo violent a dilatation of the Fibres, by altering the ſhape, brings on Decrepitude before old Age.

(*p*) In the new edition of the Letters of that Lady, we are aſſured that whatever they contain may be depended on. This aſſertion of the Editor ought to be accompanied with proofs and authorities. But the Public is never ſevere on the errors by which it is amuſed; and Intereſt, which benefits by them, is not more ſcrupulous. Thoſe who love only Truth ſhould, therefore, confine themſelves to preſent it without endeavouring to make its defence.

Theſe public Baths are very numerous in every part of the City, and are likewiſe frequented by the Men; but at different Hours from thoſe ſet apart for the Women. A Man who ſhould dare attempt to enter, while they are within, would be ſeverely puniſhed, though he had the good fortune to eſcape the Taſſes (*q*), Sandals (*r*), and wet Peſtemals (*s*) that aſſault him in Shoals. The Turkiſh Women are inexorable, when the audacity of a Man means nothing more than inſult; but it is impoſſible to conſider, without horror, the diſmal conſequences of the blind Paſſions to which they are ſometimes a Prey.

I do not ſpeak here of thoſe Women who ſo frequently ſell their Charms, and whoſe mutilated dead Bodies I have often ſeen in the environs of Conſtantinople.

(*q*) Taſſes (in Engliſh, Baſons or Tea-cups) a Turkiſh wood; the pronunciation and ſignification of which are abſolutely Frenoh.

(*r*) Sandal, a wooden Shoe-ſoal faſtened on with a Leathern Strap: in Turkey they are raiſed on croſs pieces of Wood, five or ſix inches in height.

(*s*) Peſtemal, is a piece of Stuff, Silk and Cotton, uſed for the ſake of Decency in the Baths.

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The Barbarity of the men, who Murder them to evade paying, or to avoid the Danger of being taken up when bringing them back into the City, may be accounted for, either from Avarice or Fear. But I ſpeak of thoſe Women of a more exalted Rank, whom an irreſiſtible Fury overpowers, and who eſcape ſecretly from their Priſons. Theſe unfortunate Creatures always carry off with them their Jewels, and think nothing too good for their Lover. Blinded by their unhappy Paſſion, they do not perceive that this very Wealth becomes the cauſe of their deſtruction. The Villains, to whom they fly, never fail, at the end of a few days, to puniſh their temerity, and inſure the poſſeſſion of their effects by a Crime, which, however monſtrous, the Government is leaſt in haſte to puniſh. The bodies of theſe miſerable women, ſtript and mangled, are frequently ſeen floating in the Port, under the very windows of their Murderers; and theſe dreadful Examples, ſo likely to intimidate the reſt, and prevent ſuch Madneſs, neither terrify nor amend.

It is with a view to hinder theſe diſorders from becoming more frequent that the Government has forbidden any women to go abroad, during the ſolemn Feaſts and publick Rejoicings.

The pregnancy declared in the Seraglio approached its period; all the preparations for the Entertainments on that occaſion were finiſhed, and the order of Government for their commencement expected.

I never knew, with any certainty, until ſince my connection with the Turks, what paſſes within the Seraglio at ſuch times. I ſhall here give the relation of what I have learned on that head.

At the firſt Symptoms of the approaching Labour, the Viſir, the Mufti, and the great Officers, Civil and Military, are ſent for to the Seraglio, there to wait the moment of delivery, in the Hall of the Sopha; which is the name of the intermediate Apartment (*t*) that ſeparates that

(*t*) This Room, among private Perſons, is called the Mabein Odaſſi; which, tranſlated literally, ſignifies the Intermediate Chamber.

part

part of the Seraglio called the Haram, from the reſt of the Buildings occupied by the Grand Seignior and his Houſehold.

Twelve ſmall Cannon, which are called the Guns of the Sopha, are placed in this Chamber that looks towards the Sea. There is likewiſe a Battery of Swediſh Cannon, ſituated on the declivity in the Wood of Cypreſs-Trees, very improperly called the Gardens of the Seraglio; and without the Walls of Byzantium, which incloſe the Palace, is a prodigious Artillery facing that of Tophana, on the other ſide of the Harbour.

Immediately after the Delivery, the Kiſlar Aga came out of the Haram with the Infant, a Princeſs, to preſent it to the great Officers, who drew up a Certificate of its Birth and Sex; after which the Guns of the Sopha were fired, which, as they could ſcarcely be heard but at the Battery on the declivity, were repeated by that; and this was anſwered by thoſe on the Cape of the Seraglio, and at Tophana. To theſe different Salutes, ſuc-

ceeded

ceeded thoſe of the Cuſtom-houſe, the Fleet, and the Tower of Leander (*u*).

The public Criers immediately announced this event, and the Infant Sultana was proclaimed *Eibed-Oollach*, given

(*u*) This Tower, ſituated on a Rock, facing Conſtantinople, but nearer Scutari than the Capital, is called by the Turks Kiſ-Cooleſſy (the Maiden's Tower) and ſome pretend it was a long time the priſon of a Grecian Princeſs. The name which the Europeans give it, would make us imagine they ſuppoſed it to have been formerly the Habitation of Hero; but we muſt be very cautious in theſe kind of Conjectures, to avoid being exceedingly abſurd. Some Travellers have placed a Pompey's Pillar at the mouth of the Black Sea, which was never viſited by that Illuſtrious Roman. They have called by the ſame Name another Column at Alexandria, which he certainly never erected; and, to return to Conſtantinople, there is to be ſeen, near the Euxine Sea, an antient Tower, ſtill remaining, among the Ruins of ſeveral others of the ſame kind, which, built in a line, at proper diſtances from each other, were formerly uſed to repeat Signals, on the approach of the Veſſels of the Coſſacks, who had made themſelves dreaded by their Piracies on the Shores of the Black Sea. This deſolate Tower wanted a name, in that Country of Ignorance and Barbariſm; and our Europeans, who have the oppoſite Folly of ſeeming to know and explain every thing, have called it the Tower of Ovid.

by

by God. Rejoicings were at the ſame time ordered, that were to laſt ſeven days by Land, and three by Sea; which had never been done but for the Birth of a Prince; but it was thought proper thus to welcome the firſt Infant, born after two barren Reigns. Theſe Entertainments were likewiſe become abſolutely neceſſary to amuſe the People; and though they were very expenſive, the Tradeſmen conſoled themſelves for being obliged to ſhut up their ſhops, by remembering that Deſpotiſm was alſo, for the moment, impriſoned.

Indeed, all the Entertainments of Tyranny, generally employed only to oppreſs Humanity, ſeem, during theſe times of Public Rejoicings, merely to protect Licentiouſneſs. We ſee practiſed, again, at Conſtantinople, all that was cuſtomary in ancient Rome, at the time of the Saturnalia. The Slaves enjoy a Reſpite, and are permitted to be merry in preſence of their Maſters, and even merry at their Maſter's expence. New Actors come forward on the Stage, and preſent the Great

with

with a view of their follies; while they, no longer diſtant from the Rabble, are obliged to join with them in the Laugh, or at leaſt to appear diverted.

In fact, it is plain that a Government, which ſeems by its own nature deſtructive of Joy, can no otherways produce its appearance, than by diſappearing itſelf; and poor Humanity, ever eaſy to be deceived, and ready to graſp at each flattering Illuſion, ſoon as it loſes ſight of its Tyrants, takes advantage of the opportunity to enjoy the feeble and tranſitory ſemblance of Felicity.

The Greeks, eſpecially, naturally gay and noiſy, give themſelves up, on theſe occaſions, to all the intemperance of Mirth, and paſs, at once, from Oppreſſion to Happineſs, and from Humiliation to Inſolence. We will now examine the Decorations of this new Scene, and bring forward the Performers.

Poſts are placed, each three or four feet diſtant, before the Shops, and at the edge of the Foot Pavement, on each ſide

of

of the Street; they are joined at top by Arches, which reach to the Houſes. Theſe are formed into Arbors, by being covered with Branches of Laurel, Pieces of crimped Paper, of different colours, and Leaves Dutch-gilt, which flutter in the Wind, and reflect, from their brilliant ſurface, the light of the Glaſs Lamps, and coloured Lanterns, with which the whole Edifice is ornamented. The Doors of private perſons are, likewiſe, embelliſhed, according to the importance or vanity of the Proprietor; but the Houſes of the great are moſt magnificently decorated. The Streets, that lead down to them, are covered to a certain diſtance with a kind of Canopies, ſo raiſed that the Lamps and Ornaments may not prevent the paſſing of thoſe on Horſeback. Theſe Porticos, thus decorated, are prolonged quite into the Interior Court of the Palace, where Apartments, conſtructed on purpoſe, richly furniſhed, and lighted by a great number of Luſtres, the ſplendor of which is reflected by a multitude of Mirrors,

are

are prepared for the reception of thoſe who chuſe to enter; while the Maſter does the Honours of the Entertainments, ſuitable to the Quality of the Gueſts he receives. Others are contented to furniſh out their Door-way, which, continually open, invites thoſe who paſs to ſtop, and take a Cup of Coffee, or other Refreſhments, which the Maſter is always ready to order, and the Servants eager to diſtribute.

The Gate of the Viſir, and that of the Janiſſary Aga (*w*), are above all remarkable for the ſumptuouſneſs of the Decorations, and the profuſion of Toys, which are abſurdly mixed with the richeſt Ornaments. It is impoſſible to ſee, without aſtoniſhment, the Hall of the Divan,

(*w*) *Pacha Capooſſi and Aga Capooſſi*, the Gate of the Pacha, and the Gate of the Aga, mean the Palace of the Viſir, and that of the General of the Janiſſaries. A perſon of the lower order of the People, or even any one inferior to the perſon of whom he ſpeaks, ſays, I have been, or I have ſerved at the Gate of ſuch a one; but the term Capoo, or Capi (Gate) uſed alone, always means the Palace of the firſt Miniſter, where all public buſineſs is tranſacted.

that terrible and dreadful Tribunal, decked out, for ſome days, in the moſt ridiculous manner.

Turning Lanterns, on which are painted extravagant, and often obſcene, Figures, mixed with tranſparent Writings, conſiſting of the name of God, his Attributes, the Cypher of the Grand Seignior, or ſome Play on Words, and Pieces of Looking-glaſs, intended to increaſe the Splendor of theſe Illuminations, amuſe the Multitude at a ſmall expence. Perſons whom we might expect to be the moſt grave, from their Age, and the importance of their Employments, are not the leſs pleaſed with theſe trivial and puerile imitations (*x*). I have ſeen a little Palace, made by

(*x*) The deſire of obliging a Turk, of my acquaintance, made me carry his Son a very handſome Toy. The child was extremely pleaſed, and I expected the Father would be the ſame; when, at the ſight of the Play-thing, I found him aſſume a very grave air, ſurvey my preſent with a ſtudied indifference, and ſeat himſelf with a ſullen kind of ſolemnity. Preſently the Grandfather arrived, and, by a ſingular contraſt, the old man highly praiſed the excellence of the workmanſhip,

by an European, with bits of Glaſs and Glue, for which the Viſir had given a thouſand Crowns, (125 *l.*) to make a Figure on a ſimilar Occaſion.

Profuſion ſo great among the Miniſters and Grandees, will, no doubt, lead us to imagine that, in this particular, the Illumination of the Seraglio exceeds all the reſt.

A Row of Lamps decorates the firſt Gate, and ſome coloured Lanterns give light to thoſe whoſe curioſity leads them to that which ſeparates the two Courts. This Gate, as well as the firſt Entry, is very wretchedly illuminated; but ſufficiently to diſtinguiſh the old Flags, huge Hatchets, Bucklers, Maces, bones of Fiſh, which paſs for bones of Giants, and other things of like Importance (*z*); but the

manſhip, ſat down on the Carpet to conſider it better, examined it on every ſide, played with it, and concluded by breaking it. This ſcene at firſt appeared to me very ſtrange, but a longer acquaintance with the Turks made me underſtand it better.

(*z*) In this firſt rejoicing, an old Biſhop's-Mitre, hung to the Key of a Vault, made one of the Trophies.

Gate

Gate of the Armory, which is on the left-hand ſide, on entering this Court, affords ſome ancient Arms which are really curious (*a*). The Mint, more agreeably decorated, makes a very different appearance; an infinite number of Lamps are reflected in a Tapeſtry of Piaſtres (*b*), Iſelottes (*c*), Paras (*d*), and Sequins (*e*), entirely new, and diſpoſed in different Figures. This is the only part, of the Seraglio, where the curious are tolerably entertained, by the Zarp-hana-Eminy (*f*). Though every thing

(*a*) The moſt remarkable Piece in this Collection is a Catapulta: it is, perhaps, the only one, now, to be found; but the Turks value it ſo little that it was only by examining the inſide of the Magazine that I diſcovered, by chance, this precious Antique, buried under a heap of rubbiſh. This Armory was formerly a Grecian Church.

(*b*) A Piece of Money, worth three Livres; (half a Crown).

(*c*) Thirty Paras, or two Livres five Sous; (1s. 10d½)

(*d*) Silver Pieces, ſix Deniers; (one Farthing).

(*e*) Pieces of Gold of different Value; thoſe beſt known, called Zeremapools, are worth at preſent nine Livres, (7s. 6d.) allowing the difference of twenty per cent. which the Grand Seignior's Money loſes by the exchange with that of Europe.

(*f*) Superintendant of the Mint.

in the City proclaims Deſpotiſm to have looſened its reins, to the utmoſt exceſs of fantaſtic joy, we immediately perceive, by the melancholy aſpect of the firſt Court of the Seraglio, that, within this formidable circle, ſtill remains the impenetrable receſs, in which that dreaded Power waits, in reſtleſs expectation, for the inſtant when it ſhall diſpel this intoxication of momentary Liberty, which has ſeized on every Individual.

The exceſſive Gaiety of the common People muſt, indeed, be conſidered as a tranſport of Frenzy, capable of alarming the Deſpot, if he permit its duration. I have already ſaid that the Greeks diſtinguiſh themſelves above the reſt, by their inſolent and licentious joy. Nevertheleſs the Jews, always employed in trade, and tormented with the thirſt of Gain, after having ſecured every advantage to be had by making and ſelling the Lanterns, go and play off their Buffooneries at the Doors of the Great, where Paras are diſtributed to every Merry-Andrew who preſents himſelf.

Many

Many Perſons in Office have Comedies acted before their Houſes the whole time; the Subjects of theſe are various, but always moſt indecent, and give great ſatisfaction to the People. If Morals are but little regarded in theſe diverſions, the Government meets not with more reſpect. Every moment Companies of Greeks and Jews are ſeen mimicking the different Offices of the Empire, and executing their functions, in ſuch a manner as to turn them into Ridicule. In this Entertainment, to which I was a witneſs, the Manners of the Prince himſelf, and thoſe of his Attendants, were not exempt from ſuch Raillery. A number of Jews had the audacity to perſonate them; the inſolence of this imitation, it is true, was ſoon repreſſed: it was forbidden; but they were ſuffered to divert themſelves with the Grand Viſir, nor was any Officer ſpared.

Among others I have ſeen a counterfeit Stambol Effendiſſy (*g*), who was ſuffered to exerciſe a pretty ſevere diſtributive juſtice.

(*g*) Lieutenant of the Police at Conſtantinople.

He by chance met with the real one; they ſaluted each other with much Gravity, and continued on their way. Another Company, who imitated the Janiſſary Aga, took poſſeſſion of the Houſe of that General while he was gone his round, and his Domeſtics treated the Maſk with as much diſtinction as if it had been their Maſter. To theſe Pleaſantries ſucceeded other Jokes, leſs agreeable, but which met with no oppoſition. Pretended Overſeers of the Bridges and Pavements, followed by their Attendants, unpaved the doorways of thoſe who would not pay them a pretty high price. Other Maſks, in the aſſumed dreſs of Engine-workers, levied contributions in another manner. Every kind of Extortion was practiſed, and well repreſented that which was uſual. At length all this became very tireſome and diſagreeable; but the time fixed having expired, the Rod of Authority once more appeared, and order was re-eſtabliſhed (*b*).

Deſpotiſm

(*b*) The Beſeſtins, during the Donanemas, make a very ſplendid appearance. That of the Jewellers is particularly

Deſpotiſm was, however, ſtill conſtrained to pay reſpect to Liberty, during the three Evenings when the Fire-works were to be exhibited on the Sea.

The Corps of the Marines, that of the Dgebedgis (*i*), and that of the Artillery, had engaged to furniſh each a Fire-work for three following Nights. Great rafts, brought into the middle of the Harbour oppoſite Yali-Kioſk (*k*), where the Grand Seignior was to be in perſon, were prepared to preſent the conſolatory Repreſentation of the taking of Malta, or ſome battle in which the Mahometans are infallibly victorious over the Chriſtians. A

particularly brilliant, with the precious Stones which are there expoſed by the Dealers; and theſe Covered-markets are truly curious and magnificent. The T'charchis, which are other Markets for the ſale of Drugs, have likewiſe ſeemed to me very prettily ornamented.

(*i*) This Corps can be likened to none of ours. They are to take care of the Arms, Powder, and Inſtruments of War preſerved in the Magazine.

(*k*) The Kioſk of the Marine: it is ſituated without the Seraglio, on the Sea-Shore, and ſerves for all Ceremonies relative to the Fleet, and alſo for the embarkation or debarkation of the Grand Seignior.

great number of petards, much ſmoke, but ſo little fire that the walls of the Paſteboard Caſtle, which is attacked, can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed in the brighteſt moment, give no very great idea of the Genius of the Artificers: neither have they made any very wonderful proficiency in the art of throwing Rockets, the greater part of which, having languiſhed awhile on their prop, were extinguiſhed in the Sea, before their contents had time to take fire.

The Wheat-ſheafs, being lighter and better proportioned, roſe a little higher, but the greater part catched fire but ſlowly, for want of having the Matches well diſpoſed, and took their direction in a very irregular manner. But it muſt be allowed that theſe very faults gave the artificial Flower-pots an air of profuſion and duration, which rendered them extremely agreeable. The applauſe, however, is reſerved for the moment when the unfortunate Greeks, or Jews, who are hired to wear the European habit, and defend the Aſſault with ſome Serpents, which ammunition is ſoon exhauſted, are attacked

and

and buffeted, on account of their dreſs, with as many blows as the laws of War authorize, and which their Infidelity is not allowed to return.

The pleaſure of knocking down Chriſtians is, indeed, ſo great a treat to the Turks, that the favourites of Sultan Mahamout, otherwiſe very reſpectable perſons, could imagine nothing better to amuſe their Maſter, in an entertainment which they gave within the Seraglio. They likewiſe thought the ſubject ſo ſimple and natural, that they did not heſitate to requeſt the European Ambaſſadors to lend them their Wardrobe. Theſe dreſſes were put upon the Jews, ever deſtined to be beaten, and ever ready to ſuffer, if they can make it worth their while; and all the Courtiers of the Grand Seignior agreed that they never earned their Money better, than on that Day. The Jews are certainly not to blame; but why ſhould the Europeans lend their dreſſes? And ought they not to perceive that there always is an impropriety in ſuffering themſelves to be ridiculouſly perſonated?

The Rejoicings were ſcarcely ended before a new pregnancy was announced, which gave birth to Sultan Selim; and the eldeſt Eibed-Oollach was married, at the age of ſix Months, to a Pacha, eſtabliſhed in his Government, and whom they had more deſire to plunder than to favour. He felt much more forcibly the Neceſſity of ſending yearly a hundred thouſand Piaſtres, for the maintenance of his young Spouſe, than the Honour of ſo great an alliance.

Mellek Pacha likewiſe experienced a far more diſagreeable Favour of this kind. Young, amiable, and advanced to the poſt of Capitan-Pacha (*l*), he peaceably enjoyed the pleaſure of having but one Wife, who engaged all his affection, and by whom he was tenderly beloved. The

(*l*) Capitan-Pacha at Sea is the ſame as Admiral, though unlike it when the Fleet is laid up. This Office only confers the rank of Pacha of two Tails. It is, however, ſometimes held by Viſirs of the Bench; that is to ſay, Pachas, who by their rank wear the ſame Turban as the Grand Viſir, and have a Seat in the Divan of the Grand Seignior while they remain at Conſtantinople.

favour

favour of his Maſter promoted him to the dignity of Viſir (*m*), and nothing ſeemed wanting to complete his happineſs, when a Siſter of the Grand Seignior, a widow for the ſixth time, ſaw him paſs in a public Proceſſion. Struck with the appearance of Mellek, the old Sultana requeſted him of her Brother, who immediately ſignified to the Admiral that he would honour him with his Alliance. This was a Thunder-bolt to Mellek; but there was no remedy, and he was obliged to part with his Wife on the ſpot, who ſurvived her misfortune but a few Days. The Pacha, with more Fortitude, or leſs Senſibility, reſigned himſelf to his Fate. He ſtill continued a Favourite, and in ſo great a degree that the Grand Viſir, to get rid of ſo dangerous a Rival, gave Mellek a Government, which at the ſame time ſet him

(*m*) The title of Viſir is given to all the Pachas with three Tails; this dignity therefore muſt not be confounded with that of Grand Viſir. He is diſtinguiſhed by the Seal of the Empire, the Signet of the Grand Seignior. He poſſeſſes the principal inſtrument of Deſpotiſm, and on that account is called Viſir Aſem, the Grand Viſir.

free

free from the importunities of his old Princeſs (*n*).

Sultan Muſtapha ſtill continued to take care of his Finances, by ſtripping thoſe who had rendered themſelves accountable, and appropriating to himſelf, by means of Confiſcations, whatever had been ſtolen by the oppreſſors of the Provinces. His Highneſs had already completed ſeveral *Haſnais* (*o*), to which he had ſet his Seal, but this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ruling paſſion; he was determined to attack the wealth of the Pacha of Bagdad.

(*n*) We have already ſeen that the Sultanas never go out of Conſtantinople. Deſpotiſm no doubt fears that, if they were permitted to accompany their Huſbands, their male Infants might eſcape its cruelty.

(*o*) *Haſnai* ſignifies Treaſure, and is uſed for the entire Treaſure of the Grand Seignior; but it likewiſe means a ſum of ten thouſand Purſes, which, allowance made for the exchange, is equal to fifteen millions of Livres (625,000l.); and when this ſum is completed, in the Coffers, the Seal is affixed. Muſtapha took ſo great a pleaſure in his riches that he ſacrificed every thing to increaſe them. He ſold many of his Trinkets by public ſale, and even ſent to the Mint all the Gold and Silver Plate he had been preſented with by the Court of Denmark, on the concluſion of a Treaty with the Porte.

The

The independent conduct of this Governor afforded, indeed, a ſufficient Pretext for ſeizing on his Fortune; but this Sentence was much eaſier pronounced than executed: Riches and Diſtance are powerful means of Defence. Muſtapha, however, flattered himſelf he ſhould obtain that by Art which he could not effect by Force.

A Capidgi-Bachi (*p*), ſent, in appearance, from the Court with a teſtimony of friendſhip, but, in reality, charged with an order to the Divan to take off his Head, repaired to the Pacha; who, on his part,

(*p*) *Capidgi-Bachis* are a kind of Chamberlains, who take by the arm thoſe who are admitted to an audience from the Grand Seignior, and introduce them to his Highneſs. They likewiſe are to execute all the extraordinary orders of the Sultan of what nature ſoever they may be. To collect Proviſions, levy Troops, confirm a Pacha in his Poſt, drain him of his Wealth, cut off his Head, either before or after having ſtripped him of his riches, conduct him into Exile, or poiſon him on the Road, make a part of the office of the Capidgi-Bachis. The *Salachors* (Gentlemen-Uſhers) have the ſame employment in matters of leſs moment, and their Advancement depends on the addreſs with which they execute their orders.

attentive

attentive to all the Emiſſaries from Conſtantinople, and too well acquainted with the ſucceſſors to the Grecian Empire, not to fear them and their preſents (*q*), cauſed the Capidgi to be viſited before his introduction to the Divan, diſcovered his ſecret Commiſſion, had his Head cut off, and ſent it back to the Grand Seignior for his anſwer. Other attempts had no more Succeſs, and theſe Examples, imitated by other Pachas, leſs rich and leſs diſtant than him of Bagdad, encouraged Rebellion, and obliged the Porte to have recourſe to its laſt Reſource, of aſſaſſinating or poiſoning thoſe Officers it had reſolved to puniſh. In this Caſe, the Perſon employed diſguiſes himſelf the beſt he can, and, furniſhed with an Order which he carefully conceals, endeavours to get at the Perſon proſcribed, chooſes, if poſſible, the time when the Divan is ſitting, ſeizes the Opportunity of killing his Man, preſents his Order, and runs no farther riſk if he has been ſufficiently dextrous not to fail in his blow. This is what is called

(*q*) *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes,*

exemplary

exemplary Juſtice; but Poiſon requires leſs Courage, and on that Account begins to be preferred.

Thoſe of the Pachas, or other Oppreſſors, who, by a periodical Diſtribution of ſome part of their Plunder, know how to appeaſe the Avidity of the Sublime Porte, enjoy that which they reſerve, with a kind of Security; but they cannot protect their Fortune after Death, except by entruſting it to him who manages their Affairs, or ſome Perſon in whom they think they can confide. As theſe Truſtees are expoſed to great Danger, the Fear of being themſelves ruined, or of loſing what they poſſeſs, often produces Treachery. To theſe Motives may be added the natural Temptation of appropriating to themſelves the Goods of the Deceaſed, in a Country where the words Honour and Probity are ſcarcely known.

A more perfect Judgment may be formed of the proceedings of the Turkiſh Government, in the matter of Succeſſion, by the Manner in which the Treaſury reckoned with thoſe who had the Management

nagement of the Affairs of Raeub Pacha, who had been a long time married to a Sister of the Grand Seignior.

This Vizir, celebrated for the Activity of his Mind, the Cruelty of his Character, and the Subtilty of his Capacity, died in Office, and in so high a Degree of Credit as seemed to leave no Reason for uneasiness, to those who were entrusted with his Affairs; but his Wealth had rendered them accountable, and the exaggerated Calculations of Sultan Mustapha might render them culpable. The Seal was affixed in the name of his Highness, who reserved to himself the Examination of Succession.

A Turk, who had been Treasurer to the deceased Grand-Vizir, was arrested at the instant the Seal was affixed; as was an Armenian, who had been Banker to the Minister. These two unfortunate Persons, confined in the Prisons of the Seraglio, experienced, every moment, the Dread of Death, with which their Keepers terrified them for their Diversion. For their Food they paid its weight in Gold;

and the leaſt Convenience or Indulgence was bought at a moſt exorbitant Price. At length they gave in their Accounts, and the Examination, which the Grand Seignior took the Trouble to make himſelf, only ſerved to demonſtrate their Innocence; but Avarice, enraged to find itſelf deceived, had recourſe to Tortures to procure the Confeſſion of a Truſtee who had no exiſtence.

The Boſtandgi Bachi was ordered to inflict this horrible Oppreſſion (B); the moſt extravagant Slanders were liſtened to, and prodigious Sums ſuppoſed to have paſſed, ſecretly, through their Hands. The cruelleſt Torments were continually employed, without Effect, as to the pretended Truth; but they were beneficial to the Avarice of the Prince, which ſwallowed up the greater part of the Riches that the Armenian inherited from the Commerce of his Father. The Treaſurer ſhared the ſame Fate, and was obliged to redeem his Life by the loſs of all his Fortune, after having undergone Anguiſh the moſt cruel and exceſſive.

Such

Such is the Juſtice which the Deſpot exerciſes, legally, no doubt, ſince no Law condemns theſe Barbarities, and the habit of Suffering prevents even Complaints (C).

Let us now ſee how Juſtice is adminiſtered in the Turkiſh Tribunals, by a written Code, revered by Prejudice, and explained by Magiſtrates, appointed for that purpoſe; and you who, juſtly offended at the inconveniencies and multiplicity of our judiciary forms, have dared to ſay, certainly without really thinking ſo, that the Juſtice and Laws of the Turks are preferable to ours, examine with attention the Picture which I ſhall preſent, and, if you have the ability, endeavour to point out the remedy of our hurtful ſuperfluity; correct our intemperance, but extol not Famine (D).

The Grand Seignior is ſucceſſor both to the Califat and the Chief of the Military Government. His Deſpotiſm is founded on the Koran, and the interpretation of that Book is excluſively poſſeſſed by the Ulemats. Every thing muſt

ſubmit

ſubmit to the Law, and every thing obey the Sovereign. Theſe two Powers have the ſame ſource, and it is eaſy to perceive the diſagreement and contention which muſt ariſe, ſince their right is equal, and their intereſts different. It is likewiſe clear that their Ability to hurt each other muſt often unite them, and oblige them to reciprocal regard and Friendſhip (E).

Indeed, though the Ulemats can interpret the Law as they pleaſe, and animate the People againſt their Sovereign, he, on the other hand, can, with a ſingle word, depoſe the Mufti, baniſh him, and even put him to death; with as many of the Ulemats as may fall under his diſpleaſure. The Law and the Deſpot conſequently dread each other; but the latter, if he be not a weak Prince, neceſſarily has the advantage. He diſpoſes of all the Riches, the employments, and the Lives of his Subjects; and has terrible means to make himſelf obeyed.

Let us now examine the actual uſe of Power, both on the part of the Grand Seignior, and that of the Judges.

The more the power of the Emperor is extended, the leſs eaſy is it to limit that of the Officers by whom he is repreſented. The Pachas, throughout the Ottoman Empire, are the Governors and Collectors of Taxes in their Pachalicks; they appoint other Governors and Collectors over each Diſtrict, and theſe, again, others, for every Quarter; and, in this oppreſſive deſcending Series, each ſubaltern levies the double of what he himſelf is to pay.

If the Right of levying theſe Taxes is exerciſed in a manner ſo deſtructive to the annual Revenue of each Country, the Governor of the Province, armed with an authority more extenſive and formidable, oppreſſes with ſtill much greater and more daring facility. It is in his power to multiply, at pleaſure, his Extortions and Depredations. The leaſt pretext is ſufficient to cite whom he pleaſes to his Tribunal; and the rich Man, at the feet of the inſatiable, is never innocent.

In the mean time the Sovereign, though, in appearance, a tranquil Spectator, ſuſpends the Puniſhment of the Oppreſſor, till his Extortions are ſufficient to merit a Place

Place in his own Treaſury. But if the Grand Seignior ſeems only to watch the Man in Office, in vain does he who is rich expect to eſcape Deſpotiſm, by remaining in Obſcurity. He will preſently be obliged to accept an employment, which, ſooner or later, will give the Prince an opportunity to call him to an account. The beſt he can do, therefore, is to plunder where he can, and reduce the Fruit of his Rapine into ready Money, that it may be the more eaſily concealed. It has been already ſeen that the Profeſſors of the Law can, alone, quietly enjoy their Riches. I do not ſpeak here of the Jewiſh or Chriſtian Subjects. Theſe laſt, deſpiſed, and inſulted by their loweſt Muſulman-domeſtic, are not regarded by the Government, but for the Riches which their Induſtry accumulates, and which continual Extortions cauſe to flow, through the channel of thoſe in Office, into the wide Gulph where all is ſwallowed up by the Sovereign.

It may be likewiſe believed, on the aſſertion of ſome Europeans, that the Cuſtom-

duties among the Turks, are not ſo heavy as in other Nations. The legal duties to the Franks are, indeed, only three per cent. And as to the numerous extortions, to which they are obliged to ſubmit, I ſhall paſs them over, becauſe, they being Foreigners, theſe have nothing to do with an examination of the Manners and Government of the Natives. Theſe laſt are obliged to pay ſeven per cent. and ten on many Articles of Conſumption. An affected liberality of thinking may pretend that this right is founded in Nature; but what is the reſult? That out of a hundred Turbots, brought in by a Fiſherman, they take from him the ten beſt, and which, alone, are worth all the remainder (F).

Let us now conſider the Books of their Law, and ſee how they are interpreted in their Courts of Juſtice (G).

Every thing muſt be decided by the teſtimony of Witneſſes. This is the firſt Law of the Legiſlator of the Arabs. With theſe, then, both Plaintiff and Defendant muſt be equally provided, and there is no Law-ſuit without falſe Witneſſes. The art of the

Judge is employed in diſcovering to which of the Parties he ſhall allow the Right of Affirming, and this firſt Judgment decides the Cauſe; for, if one party denies, the other is permitted to prove; if, therefore, I am ſued by a Man I have never ſeen, for a Debt I never owed, I ſhall be obliged to pay him, on the depoſition of two Turkiſh Witneſſes, who ſhall affirm their knowledge of the Debt. What defence, then, can I ſet up? I muſt admit the Debt was due, but aſſert that it has been paid. If the Cadi has not been gained over, he will command me to produce my Witneſſes: I can eaſily procure them, and it will only coſt me a trifling Compenſation to thoſe who have taken the Trouble to perjure themſelves on my Account, and ten per Cent. to the Judge, by whoſe Means I have gained my Cauſe.

He who gains the Day always pays the Coſts; the fear of loſing what they have cannot, therefore, repreſs the Deſire of defrauding others; and the Puniſhments

denounced againſt falſe Witneſſes (*r*) and their Suborners are rarely executed: the Judge, to whoſe intereſt they contribute, owes them too much Reſpect.

A Turk was deſirous of diſpoſſeſſing his Neighbour of a Field, of which he was the legal Poſſeſſor. He began by procuring a ſufficient number of Witneſſes to depoſe that the Field had been ſold to him by the Proprietor; he afterwards applied to the Judge, and remitted him five hundred Piaſtres, to engage him to authoriſe his Villainy. This Meaſure ſufficiently proved the Subtilty and Wickedneſs of his Claims, and excited the Indignation of the Cadi; he diſſembled his Anger, and heard the Parties. The lawful Owner reſted only on the inſufficiency of the other's Title. You have then no Witneſſes, ſaid the Judge? No matter; I have five hundred, which depoſe in your

(*r*) The Puniſhment appointed for falſe Witneſſes is to be led through the Streets upon an Aſs, with their Faces towards the Tail; but I have never ſeen it executed.

Favour,

Favour. He then produced the Purſe which he had received as a Bribe, and drove away the Claimant.

This Anecdote, though it does Honour to the Integrity of the Judge, does none to the Law; that is always the ſame; for every Cadi does not reſemble this.

In complicated Cauſes, the Parties take the Precaution to provide themſelves with a Fetfa of the Mufti, as well as Witneſſes; but theſe Deciſions, as I have already obſerved, being given by the Head of the Law only on that Statement of the Caſe which was laid before him, each Party eaſily obtains one which is favourable.

Nor is the Affair concluded by the formal Judgment which gains the Cauſe; nothing is certain but the Payment of the Coſts. If the adverſe Party can ſtart ſome new Circumſtance, the Proceedings muſt begin again, and freſh Expences be incurred.

One apparent good Property of the Civil Law, among the Turks, is the Right, which every Individual poſſeſſes,

of Pleading himſelf, his own Cauſe. But of what Advantage is this Privilege, in a Country where the Judgment is Arbitrary? Hence it ariſes that the Jews, the Armenians, and the Greeks, have inveſted their Chiefs with a kind of civil Juriſdiction, to which they ſometimes ſubmit, to avoid having the Property, for which they contend, devoured by the Cadi, who decides the Cauſe. But, except among the Jews, who pay more Obedience to their Kakam, than the Chriſtians to their Patriarch, it is very common for thoſe adjudged in the Wrong to have recourſe to the Turkiſh Judges, who commonly end the matter by enriching themſelves, at the Expence of each Party.

The Law concerning Slaves ſubmits them to the Will of the Buyer; exhorts to uſe them well, and ſell them when diſſatisfied; and the Evidence of Slaves cannot be received, either for or againſt their Maſters.

A Greek, named Draco, extremely Rich, poſſeſſed two beautiful Country-houſes in the Neighbourhood of Tarapia,

on

on the Strait of the Black Sea, three Leagues from Conſtantinople; where he paſſed the Summer with all his Family, and ſeveral female Chriſtian Slaves. Near him was a Dock, in which a Veſſel was building, and one of the Turks, concerned in its Conſtruction, found an Opportunity of carrying on an Intrigue with one of theſe Slaves. Draco diſcovered it, and uſed her with ſome Severity; and ſhe, in Revenge, ſet fire to the two Houſes, and they were entirely conſumed. She even had the Impudence to boaſt of her Wickedneſs; and Draco fearing, with Reaſon, other Miſchief from the Fury of this Wretch, cauſed her to be taken away, by night, and ſent to a Jew, with Orders carefully to confine her, and ſell her, as ſoon as poſſible, ſo that ſhe might never return. This Slave, however, found means to call, out of the Window, that ſhe was a Turk. The Populace aſſembled, the Guard arrived, the Houſe of the Jew was immediately forced, and the Girl carried to the Viſir. There ſhe again declared ſhe was a Turk, that Draco had confined her

her as a Slave, and ill treated her, to oblige her to turn Chriſtian; and that ſhe had ſet fire to his Houſe to preſerve a Believer. They commended her Zeal, gave thanks to Providence, and Draco was hanged, two days after the Fire, before the Ruins of his Houſes, which were ſtill ſmoking.

It will no doubt be aſked what is become of that Law which admits not the Evidence of Slaves againſt their Maſters; of that which condemns an Incendiary to the Flames, and of that which allows the Defendant to plead, himſelf, his own Cauſe. None of all theſe were regarded; a Chriſtian, in Turkey, merits not ſo much Reſpect.

After having ſeen the Innocent periſh, let us now conſider how the Law treats the Guilty. It is a ſhocking Truth that theſe Monſters are more favourably uſed; for the Law, which condemns the Murderer to Death, permits, at the ſame time, the neareſt Relations of the Murdered to grant him a Pardon. The Criminal is conducted to the Place of Puniſhment; he who performs the Office of Executioner

tioner takes on him, likewiſe, that of Mediator; and negociates, till the laſt Moment, with the next of kin to the Deceaſed, or his Wife, who commonly follows, to be preſent at the Execution. If the Propoſals are refuſed, the Executioner fulfils the Sentence; if they are accepted, he reconducts the Criminal to the Tribunal to receive his Pardon: but an accommodation rarely takes place, as there is a kind of Scandal annexed to ſelling the Blood of one's Relations, or Huſband. It is evident that, were there a like Law among us, we ſhould frequently ſee the moſt execrable Aſſaſſins peaceably enjoy the Fruit of their Crimes.

A Turk, in haſte to inherit, had murdered his Father, and was condemned, on the ſtrongeſt Proofs, to loſe his Head. One of his Friends, the Companion of his Debaucheries, haſtened to the Judge, with a large Sum of Money; where he learned that the Sentence had been already pronounced. Not diſcouraged by that, he continued to preſs the Cadi, whom the ſight of ſuch a Treaſure had already perſuaded,

ſuaded, I cannot, ſaid he to his Client, acquit your Friend without a Proof of his Innocence, ſtronger than the Evidence on which he has been convicted. Be bold enough to declare yourſelf the Murderer of his Father, procure two Witneſſes, and I will condemn you to undergo the Puniſhment to which he has been ſentenced; he will be immediately reinſtated in all his Rights, and have the Power of granting you a Pardon. The Undertaking was certainly hazardous; no great Confidence could be repoſed in a Parricide. Yet the convicted Criminal pardoned the pretended Murderer, and this Villainy, conducted in due Form of Law, was completely ſucceſsful.

To render Robbers on the Highway puniſhable, they muſt be taken in the Commiſſion of ſome daring Crime. The Legiſlator of the Arabs thought, no doubt, that he owed this complaiſance to a Nation which only lived by Rapine. Thus the Territories of the Grand Seignior are continually infeſted with Banditti, named Haidouts, who commit the greateſt

greateſt Enormities; and the Efforts, which the Government ſometimes makes, in an aukward and ineffectual Manner, to repreſs their Audacity, only ſerve to diſperſe them, and drive them farther from the Capital. If they commit any Murders in a Village, the Cadi goes thither and lays a Fine on the Inhabitants, without troubling himſelf to take the Offenders. On this Account, the firſt Care of the Country-people is to conceal the Crimes that have been committed from the Judges, whoſe Preſence is more dangerous to them than that of the Thieves, who, in theſe Countries, are like Tradeſmen in our Cities, who have not taken up their Freedom: they are puniſhed when caught at Work; but, when Rich, quit their Occupation, recount the Feats they have performed, are honoured with Reſpect, and arrive at employments in which they have again Opportunity to exerciſe their Abilities.

The Doctrine of the Koran, which enjoins Submiſſion to the Decrees of Providence, ſeems improper to make part of a crimi-

a criminal Code; but a Turk having killed a Chriſtian, by a violent blow with a Club on the Scull, the Judge, after conſidering the Inſtrument employed in committing the Murder, and examining the Quality of the Wood of which it was made, declared it could not cauſe the Death of the Chriſtian without the particular interference of Providence, which Mortals had no right to oppoſe. It will not be eaſy to find the Chapter of the Koran on which this Sentence was grounded; but it is certain that if a Chriſtian had committed the Murder, in Queſtion, on the Body of a Turk, the Judge would never have conſidered him as the Executor of a Divine Decree.

Beſides the Proceſſes which are cauſed by judicial Informations, Verification of Titles, and appeals to ſuperior Tribunals, all private Quarrels and Accuſations, in the firſt Inſtance, are brought immediately before the Judge, without the other Party daring to refuſe his Appearance, if the Diſpute has taken place in the Preſence of a number of People. At the very

very name of Juſtice, the Multitude will always take Part againſt him by whom it is refuſed; it is Sacred among all Nations; it is the central Point of the human Mind; it may be miſtaken, we may endeavour to elude it, or to deceive others, but we cannot deceive ourſelves. Juſtice continually reigns unſeen, and Villainy pays it no leſs Homage than Virtue.

Each Quarter has its Mekkemai (*s*), in which a Cadi, attended by his Naib (*t*), ſits all day long, to hear Complaints, and adminſter Juſtice; which is the more prompt, becauſe the Payment of the Expences immediately follows the Sentence.

That which the Stambol Effendiſſi (*u*) exerciſes, with reſpect to the Proviſions of the Capital, ſeems more diſintereſted, though it has, in Fact, only a more pom-

(*s*) The Tribunal where Juſtice is adminiſtered.

(*t*) The firſt Clerk of the Judge.

(*u*) The Lieutenant of the Police, at Conſtantinople. This is the firſt ſtep, of a Profeſſor of the Law, towards thoſe great Offices, which, as well as that, are in the Nomination of the Grand Seignior, without any reſpect to Seniority of Rank.

pous

pous Appearance: He fixes the Prices of Commodities, proclaims them, and takes Care, either by himſelf or his Subdelegate, called Murtaſib, that the Weights and Meaſures are honeſt. Preceded by four Janiſſaries, dreſt in their Habits of Ceremony, with their Staves in their Hands, this Officer, mounted on Horſeback, goes round the City, with one of his Attendants by his ſide, holding the Scales, while another carries the Weights, a third the Hammer, and the reſt who accompany him are provided with Cudgels and other Inſtruments, proper to puniſh the Guilty.

This Troop is always preceded by ſome Perſons diſguiſed, who, unexpectedly, ſeize on the Bread of ſome Shop; the Weights and Scales of ſome Seller of Fruit, or other Commodity, or whatever elſe may convict the fraudulent Dealer.

The Bread, brought to the Magiſtrate, is put in the Scale againſt the Weight which it ought to weigh, while the Baker, already ſeized, and in the Preſence of his Judge, expects the Sentence, by which he is to be acquitted or condemned to the Baſtinado,

Baſtinado, if not ſome puniſhment more ſevere; ſuch as having his Ear nailed to his Shop, or even to be hanged, according to the Caprice of his Judge. But, what is moſt remarkable is that, the real Baker, the Proprietor of the Oven, he whoſe Knavery ſhould be puniſhed, is not concerned in this Affair; he quietly preſerves the daily Profits of the falſe Weight which incurs Puniſhment, and leaves to one of his Journeymen, or the Foreman of his Shop, all the Danger and Trouble of this ſhameful Practice; who, for double pay, agrees to repreſent his Maſter; and this advantageous Poſt is immediately ſolicited by the next Journeyman, when the firſt gets hanged, for ſuch a Trifle diſcourages no one. But it muſt be confeſſed that Puniſhments, on theſe people, are not ſo frequently inflicted as they are deſerved.

The Compenſation, which the Maſter Bakers pay the Stambol Effendiſſi, is conſiderable; and though this Magiſtrate ought to prevent great Abuſes, and puniſh Frauds, that are clearly proved, it is

likewiſe much his Intereſt to grant them many Indulgences, to render certain the Tribute which he receives. But he owes no ſuch Reſpect to the Higlers about the Streets; their Weights and Scales are taken away, and broken with the Hammer, for the leaſt imperfection; and the Ceremony is commonly concluded by the Baſtinado, unleſs theſe unfortunate Fellows are able to extricate themſelves from their Embarraſſment, as is cuſtomary in Turkey.

The moſt dextrous accommodate Matters ere they are brought before the Judge; for they can make the beſt bargain with the diſguiſed Guards, who ſtop them, and who likewiſe know how to turn their Employment to ſome Account.

To theſe Precautions, intended to inſure Honeſty in the Sale of Proviſions, the Government adds the Right of fixing the Price. But things are not paid the leſs for, on that Account, under a deſpotick Adminiſtration; the Multitude is eaſily deceived; it is not a ſtate of Eaſe which they aſk; to that they were

never accuſtomed, but they are ſometimes ſeized with fits of Fury and Deſpair: they then aſſume the character of their Maſters, and will be obeyed. They think they have obtained their end when, to remedy the exceſſive dearneſs of Proviſions, the Viſir commands they ſhall be ſold at a lower price; and, going out, incognito, during the promulgation of this Edict, perhaps orders ſome Baker's Journeyman to be hanged. Nobody enquires on what grounds the Wretch was ſacrificed, but every body finds the Bread better.

Is it not ſtrange that ſo great a contempt for humanity ſhould be accompanied, among the Turks, by the moſt abſurd benevolence towards Animals the leaſt uſeful to Society? Barbarity itſelf has need of ſome relaxation; it cruſhes Men under the weight of its Iron Sceptre, but ſmiles on Objects the inſignificance of which can give no anxiety; and the Pride of Deſpotiſm, while it confines all Beings, chuſes its Favourites from among the weakeſt.

It is on this principle that the Government, while it enforces the moſt rigorous monopoly of the Corn which is conſumed in the Capital, by an exaction ruinous to the Cultivator, and a diſtribution leſs burthenſome to the Baker than the Conſumer, allows ſo much per cent. in favour of Turtle-doves. A cloud of theſe Birds conſtantly alight on the Veſſels which croſs the Port of Conſtantinople, and carry this commodity, uncovered, either to the Magazines or the Mills. The Boatmen never oppoſe their greedineſs. This permiſſion to feaſt on the Grain brings them in great numbers, and familiarizes them to ſuch a degree that I have ſeen them ſtanding on the Shoulders of the Rowers, watching for a vacant place, where they might fill their Crops in their turn.

But it is from very ſuperficial obſervations that Travellers have ſo much extolled the Charity of the Turks, towards other Animals.

There are, in Conſtantinople, a great number of Dogs, of a ſpecies ſimilar to the Sheperd-dog; that is to ſay, with the Noſe

Noſe and Ears of the Fox. Theſe Animals, diſperſed through every quarter of the City, ſeem to be all of the ſame race, but have no particular Maſters; and thoſe of each quarter join to attack the Marauders who paſs their bounds. It is eaſy to know, by their wretched appearance, their weak and languiſhing walk, as well as their exceſſive leanneſs, thoſe of them which, not being littered near the Shambles, are reduced to live on the Ordure thrown out of the Houſes, and which they are fortunate to owe to the defect of the Police by which it is permitted. The waſtefulneſs of Children, whom they are very careful to careſs, is likewiſe ſome Reſource; and the Females of theſe poor Animals ſometimes get the end of a Mat, between two Poſts, on which they ſuckle their young ones. But, notwithſtanding theſe wretched Helps, all thoſe that are not near the Butchery do very little honour to Turkiſh Charity. Always miſerable and meager, and often maimed, they ſeem to cry out againſt thoſe Travellers who have

ſo much exaggerated the happineſs of their exiſtence (*x*).

They have, in like manner, celebrated, as a good work, the cuſtom of the Turks to feed Cats with Sheep-livers, which we are told religious Perſons conſider as an act of Piety. This, in reality, would not be more fooliſh, nor more ſtrange, than what happens in the caſe of the Turtle-doves; but one fact does not prove another; and whatever concerns the manners of a People merits a careful and particular diſcuſſion.

The Turks, as well as the Jews, have their forbidden meats. Their Law obliges them to waſh, and drain the Blood from thoſe which they eat; it likewiſe forbids them certain parts of the Animal, ſuch as the Liver, the Lights, &c. The Butchers muſt, therefore, provide for the ſale of thoſe Articles, which can only be of uſe to the Chriſtians.

(*x*) In this deſcription, we do not diſcover that kind of Dogs called Turkiſh Dogs: they are, indeed, no more known in Turkey than Turkiſh-beds, Turkiſh-robes, and other Novelties to which that name has been given.

Dgiherdgis

Dgiherdgis (Sellers of Liver) carrying on their Shoulders a long Stick, to which they hang their commodity, cry it through the Streets, by no means ſparing for noiſe, but never diſtribute it gratis. The quantity of Sheep which are killed in this prodigious City, where but little Beef is eaten, becauſe it is not much admired by the Turks, neceſſarily produces great numbers of theſe dealers in Liver; who run about and ſell it wholeſale to the Chriſtians, who eat it, and in ſmall quantities to the old Women, who are fond of their Cats, though not from motives of Charity. But Idleneſs, which perpetually ſeeks diverſion, affords the Dgiherdgis other means of a very extenſive ſale.

The manner of living of a Turk, ſufficiently wealthy to have nothing to do, is to go out, every Day, and take his ſeat in the Shop of a Dealer in Tobacco. There, under pretence of trying the different ſorts, he ſmoaks ſeveral Pipes without paying any thing; and, beſides, enjoys the proſpect of the Paſſengers; who, on their parts, admire the indolent Gravity of the

Turk, and the reſpectful demeanour of two or three Servants, who ſtand by his ſide, with their Hands croſſed before them. In this poſition, the firſt Liver-ſeller, who paſſes, ſtops, and brags of his ability to bring together all the Cats in the neighbourhood; cracks a few jokes, to divert his Excellency, and obtains permiſſion to begin his Operations. The Paſſengers gather round, the Cats aſſemble, in a twinkling, at the watch word; the Shoulders of the Dealer are covered with them, they hang about his Clothes, and he makes haſte to feaſt his Friends for their alacrity. The important Perſonage, for whoſe diverſion the Scene was intended, pays the Performance; and the European, who does not underſtand the Language, or underſtands it but ill, and does not live among the Turks to ſtudy their Genius and Manners, believes he has ſeen an act of Charity, publiſhes it as ſuch, and only propagates an Error.

Men have ſo great need of mutual aſſiſtance that the ſuccouring Virtues ought, no doubt, to be more frequent among them

them than they commonly are. They ſeem to offer a natural remedy to the Miſfortunes and Wants to which we are all liable, and therefore ought to flouriſh with more vigour among an oppreſſed People; but Deſpotiſm, as it is itſelf deprived of all ſentiments of Humanity or Commiſeration, likewiſe deſtroys them in the Victims which it ſacrifices; and can only inſpire thoſe which it oppreſſes with the deſire of oppreſſing in their turn; for Tyranny only owes its Slaves to the deſire of tyrannizing over others; and Perſecution is ſo natural, in Turkey, that there exiſts an expreſs form of engagement not to be Enemies to each other.

A Turk, who had been Coochetchy-Bachi (*y*) under the reign of the three Favourites, whom Sultan Mahamout was obliged to ſacrifice, and who have been already mentioned in the beginning of theſe Memoirs, had been much attached to my Wife's Father. The Government ſtill made uſe of his Underſtanding and

(*y*) The great Provoſt of the Houſhold, the Lieutenant of the Boſtandgi-Bachi.

Talents

Talents in any ſecret Buſineſs; and ſome affairs of this kind had brought him to Pera (z). He was deſirous of an acquaintance with me, and, ſeeming to regret that his Buſineſs would not permit him to ſtay long, he departed, promiſing in a ſhort time to return. I had already attended him half way down the Stair-caſe, when ſtopping, and turning briſkly to one of my Domeſtics who followed me, bring me, directly, ſaid he, ſome Bread and Salt. I was not leſs ſurprized at this fancy than the haſte which was made to obey him. What he had requeſted was brought, when, taking a little Salt between his Fingers, and putting it with a myſterious air on a bit of Bread, he eat it with a devout Gravity, aſſuring me, that I might now rely on him. I ſoon procured an ex-

(z) A ſuburb, in which the greater part of foreign Ambaſſadors and Merchants reſide, except the French, who, moſt of them, live in Galata. But it is not to be imagined that theſe Quarters are excluſively poſſeſſed by the Europeans. They contain not leſs than fifty thouſand Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, to whom are added two or three hundred Europeans, or pretended Europeans.

planation

planation of this ſignificant Ceremony (*a*); but it will be ſeen that this ſame Man, become Vifir, by the Name of Moldovandgi-Pacha, found himſelf very much tempted to violate the Oath he had taken in my favour. Yet, if this ſolemn Contract be not always religiouſly obſerved, it ſerves, at leaſt, to moderate the ſpirit of Vengeance ſo natural to the Turks. Their fury rarely breaks out in haſty violence; they never fight Duels, but they aſſaſſinate; and it is thus that all their Quarrels terminate, for they never come to an accommodation. The offended Party publickly ſharpens his Knife, or prepares his Fire-arms; ſome Friends endeavour to appeaſe him, others to excite and encourage him to the Murder; but no Meaſures are taken to prevent the Crime threatened by theſe preparations. Its Commiſſion, however, muſt be preceded by Intoxication. Wine inſpires the Turk with the degree of Courage

(*a*) The Turks hold it the blackeſt ingratitude to forget the Man from whom we have received Food; which is ſignified by the Bread and Salt in this Ceremony.

neceſſary

neceſſary for the gratification of his Revenge. Having wrought himſelf up to the proper pitch, he ſallies forth from the Tavern, and, from that time, the Offender has no hope of ſafety but from the unſkilfulneſs of his Antagoniſt. If the Murder be effected, and the Guards, who never have any Arms but Staves (*b*), purſue the Aſſaſſin, he will then give real proofs of courage, and defend himſelf like a Lion. Guilt ſeems to have ennobled him, and, if he be overpowered, the threats of his Comrades terrify the Relations of the Deceaſed into an accommodation, which

(*b*) The Patroles, who go about the City to maintain good order and ſecurity, are only armed with Staves in the form of Bludgeons, the large end of which is dipped in Roſin. When any Criminal endeavours to eſcape by flight, he is preſently tripped up by the dexterity of the Guards, who throw their Bludgeons at his Legs; and many Perſons have been knocked down for no other fault but going too haſtily about their Buſineſs. It is a little amuſement with which theſe Watchmen exerciſe themſelves till they can find ſome real Offenders; but if theſe latter have Fire-arms they procure them reſpect even at a great diſtance; and the Guards are more careful to avoid them, than anxious in their purſuit.

leaves

leaves the Criminal in the full enjoyment of the high eſteem he has acquired by this heroic Action (*c*).

It is, therefore, only ſome hired Aſſaſſins, among the Turks, ſome Chriſtians or Jews, who furniſh Examples of public Puniſhment, as an atonement for the Murders they have committed. In this caſe, the Culprit is brought to the Porte, and there receives his Sentence, the execution of which is attended with no ſolemn Parade; and I have even met them puſhing through the Crowd, which is commonly found in the Streets, and talking all the way with him who was to execute them. The Criminals only have their Hands tied, and the Hangmen holds them by the Girdle; then is the time to negociate with the Friends of the Deceaſed, and to endeavour to bring about the accommodation I have before mention-

(*c*) This is no exaggeration. Such a one has killed ſuch another, is never ſaid but by way of Panegyric; he who has killed ten is the Hero of his Quarter; there is no merry-making without him; his friendſhip is eſteemed a ſafeguard.

ed.

ed. I was aſſured there have been Bargains of this kind broken off merely through the avarice of the Perſon condemned. This Aſſertion ſeems beyond the bounds of Probability; but, if it be true, it no doubt is becauſe, under a deſpotic Government, Riches are of much importance, but Life of little.

The habit of deſpiſing the Chriſtians, and honouring the Turks, has eſtabliſhed the Cuſtom of placing the ſevered Head of the True-believer on his Arm, which is bent for that purpoſe, and that of the Infidel on his Backſide.

Nothing is wanting to complete the Barbarity of the Turks, but to imitate the French, by extending the puniſhment of a Crime ſo far as to cover with infamy thoſe innocent Perſons who have the misfortune to be related to the Criminals. But they, on the contrary, engrave on his Tomb-ſtone the Name of the Deceaſed, and the kind of Puniſhment he ſuffered. I have known an European very ill received by a Grecian Lady of conſequence, whoſe Huſband had been hanged for ſome intrigue

trigue at Court, becauſe he thought proper to lament her misfortune; and dwelt eſpecially on the kind of Death the Deceaſed had ſuffered. What kind of Death would you wiſh him to have died, cried ſhe, in a rage? Learn, Sir, that no Perſon of my Family ever died like a Baccal (*d*). The European was thunderſtruck, and left her, wiſhing each of her Relations a like reſpectable end. This Prejudice, very different from ours, is likewiſe to be explained by Deſpotiſm. To be puniſhed, for a Crime againſt the State, is to have been a Perſon of Importance, in that State. Dependence is never ſubmitted to, but from the hope of commanding in our turn; this hope is the origin of Slavery, the nouriſhment of the vanity of Slaves, and the only notion of honour to be found under an arbitrary Government.

Though we have ſeen that Drunkeneſs impels and enables the Turks to com-

(*d*) A retail Grocer; they commonly die in their Bed; it is that low rank of life which is uſually oppoſed to the moſt diſtinguiſhed.

mit

mit many Outrages, and though their Laws forbid the uſe of Wine, the Taverns, in Conſtantinople, are as public and numerous as with us; the Government impoſes a Tax on them, and protects them. Thoſe of the Turks who go there always get drunk; and the conſumption of Wine becomes a revenue of the Treaſury, and is farmed by an Intendant, named Charab-Emini (*e*). This Officer receives the entrance Duties; but the regulation of the Taverns, and the Tax they pay, appertains to the firſt Magiſtrate, and particular Governor of the Quarters where they are ſituated.

I have already ſaid that, on their ſolemn Feſtivals, the Taverns are ſhut up, in order to avoid, during thoſe times, the ſad effects of the habitual debauchery of the common People. Their Police affixes the Seal to the Door of every Tavern, but a little Wicket is contrived, underneath,

(*e*) An Officer who collects the Duties on Wines: This Poſt is never occupied by any but a Turk. He farms and receives theſe Duties, either by right of farming them or of his Office.

which

which they pretend to overlook, and affords an entrance always open and public. It requires only a little ſtooping to evade the Law, and get drunk unmoleſted.

The three days of the Bayram, nevertheleſs, occaſion a kind of ſolicitude, on the part of Government, to prevent the Diſorders which might proceed from Intoxication. The Ramazan, which precedes theſe holidays, is the Lunar Month, appointed for a Faſt, and the time when it happens annually advances eleven days. This time of abſtinence, which Mahomet has copied from the Lent of the Chriſtians, conſiſts, among the Turks, as that did in the Primitive Church, in taking no nouriſhment while the Sun is above the horizon. It is therefore eaſy to perceive that the Ramazans, which fall near the Winter Solſtice, are much leſs difficult to obſerve than thoſe which happen in the midſt of Summer, on account of the exceſſive heat, and the length of the days which then accompany this Seaſon of Faſting. But the claſs of labouring People ſeems, alone, to bear all the rigour

of the Ramazan. Deprived, during the day, even of a Glaſs of Water to appeaſe their Thirſt, or refreſh their Mouths, the ſetting of the Sun only brings them a frugal Repaſt and a ſhort Repoſe, ſoon interrupted by the hour of Prayer, and the neceſſity of eating before day.

The Ramazan wears a quite different appearance among Perſons of Fortune; it is only Luxury ſleeping in the arms of Hypocriſy, and awaking merely to give itſelf up to good cheer, muſic, and whatever can recompenſe Senſuality for the uneaſineſs of Abſtinence.

Obliged to wait the time preſcribed by the Law, and always in haſte to ſee it arrive, a Turk, during the Ramazan, is continually counting the Hours and Minutes, and is ſurrounded by all the Clocks and Watches which he poſſeſſes. It is then that Geneva receives the greater part of that Tribute which its Induſtry impoſes on the Turks. This advantageous Commerce would be ſtill infinitely increaſed if, by means of a double Quadrature,

drature, diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to ſhorten the ſpiral Spring, or gradually raiſe the point of ſuſpenſion of the Pendulum, it were poſſible to accelerate the motion of the hand, or retard it by the inverſe of the ſame operation, according to the ſetting of the Sun, which the Turks always place at the hour of twelve. I would engage that, merely ſenſible of this effect, they would not perceive that the vibrations, as they become faſter or ſlower, by dividing the difference, muſt alter the duration of each hour in particular.

But the moſt regular Watch is not ſufficient to determine the moment when the Faſt ends; the Criers of the Moſques, placed in the Galleries of the Minarets, obſerve, there, the diſappearance of the Sun; and he of Sancta Sophia gives the firſt Signal, by chanting the invitation to Prayers, which the other Muczzins repeat, each from his Minaret. At that inſtant, the impatience of the Turks, though the moſt devout always begin by Ablutions, generally induces them to take

the pleaſure of ſmoaking; for this is the foremoſt of their Wants.

Yet, if the Turks wait till the Sun diſappears before they allow themſelves any Nouriſhment, they take no leſs care to aſcertain, exactly, the Commencement of the new Moon when the Ramazan begins. In general, they never have full and entire confidence in Aſtronomical Calculations, except to enter on a Feſtival. It is, beſides, remarked that this Moon, dedicated to Abſtinence, commonly has but twenty-eight days; and the Perſons appointed to obſerve this Planet, and make their declaration at the Porte, always perceive, a little of the lateſt, the firſt ray of light of the Ramazan Moon; but, to make amends, are far leſs ſcrupulous in affirming the appearance of the following, which begins the Bayram (H), and is announced to the Public by diſcharges of the Artillery.

Nevertheleſs, theſe Feſtivals, which ſucceed the ſeaſon of abſtinence among the Turks, cannot be compared to the Solemnity

lemnity which follows Lent among the Catholics; though a kind of imitation of the Paſchal Lamb is to be found in the *Coorban Bayram*, or Sacrifice of the Bayram. This ſecond Paſchal Feaſt does not take place till ſix weeks after the firſt. The Grand Seignior, all the great Men; all private Perſons, able to bear the expence, Sacrifice, on that Day, one or more Sheep. For this purpoſe, a proper number of theſe Animals is provided, the Wool is combed, the Horns are gilt, and the inſtant of offering up theſe Holocauſts ought to be calculated, ſo as to be the ſame when the like Sacrifice is offered at Mecca.

The Seaſon of the Bayram is alſo that of Luxury; every Individual procures, gives, or receives, new Dreſſes. It is likewiſe the time for Parties of Pleaſure of all kinds, which always produce Diſorders and Oppreſſions on the part of the Pleaſure-takers, who are ſpread in every Village for three or four Leagues round Conſtantinople, and in which the Turks, new clothed, lately abſolved, and well armed, think they may commit every

Extravagance with impunity, and exact what they pleaſe from the unfortunate Greeks.

The Aqueducts, which ſupply Conſtantinople with water, often ſerve for a Boundary to the Excurſions of the Turks; but, it will eaſily be imagined, it is neither to admire the Architecture, nor judge of the Salubrity of the Waters, that they go thither in crowds. They take great care to carry Wine with them, and every thing on which they chuſe to regale; and take their Poſt in ſome ruined Kioſks, which the Emperors built at the ſame time with the Edifices intended to collect the Rain Water, and convey it to the Capital.

The Aqueducts, which the Turks have been obliged to ſubſtitute to the ancient Ciſterns, are ſo ill conſtructed, that a compariſon between them and the Aqueduct (*f*) of the Greeks muſt make the latter appear

(*f*) It is more eaſy to give an opinion on the Turkiſh Aqueducts;—without proportion in their deſign, choice in their materials, or fitneſs for the uſe intended, we are aſtoniſhed at ſuch prodigious Labour, and

appear a Work of great Merit. Yet this Edifice, built in the time of Juſtinian, is no way remarkable, either for the boldneſs or lightneſs of its Conſtruction; and ſtill leſs of true taſte is diſcernible. The Architect ſeems only to have endeavoured to deceive the Eye by a number of Maſſes, which appear as if hanging in the Air, while theſe inverted Cones form too great an angle at the Baſe.

A mixture of large Gothic Arches and ſmaller ones, in ſemicircles, are neither more bold nor more agreeable; and I cannot but obſerve that this Building aſcertains the period when good taſte, in Architecture began to decline among the Greeks.

Theſe defects are found, though in a leſs ſtriking Manner, in the Moſques which the Turkiſh Emperors have built at Conſtantinople; becauſe all theſe Edifices, conſtructed under the eyes of the Sultans, and on the Model of Sancta So-

and offended at its imperfection, which only ſerves to ſhow that Ignorance has been ſet at work by Power, and paid by Avarice.

phia, have been more or leſs decorated, and carefully completed, by the Fear and Vanity of the Greeks or Armenians by whom they were undertaken. There are even Moſques (*g*) built on the plan of that ancient Grecian Church, which have ſurpaſſed their Model. This Model, indeed, is far from being a Maſter-piece; and it is to be preſumed that a more careful examination would have prevented Travellers from laviſhing ſo many Praiſes on its Structure. If theſe Travellers had poſſeſſed more ſkill in Architecture, they would have concluded, merely from the ill Situation of the Pillars, that, after having adjuſted, in the firſt Plan, the Maſſes neceſſary for Solidity, the Architect had overloaded them, by the Counterforts, with which he afterwards ſtrengthened the Edifice. The Eye would have informed them, on viewing the Arch of the exterior Cupola, that the flat Vault,

(*g*) The Moſque of Sultan Achmet and that of Chekſada are of a lighter conſtruction; and the firſt, decorated with ſix Minarets, is ſituated on the ſide of the Hippodrome.

which

which ſerves for a Ceiling, preſents only an illuſory boldneſs; and that, far from being ſupported independent of the building, it is ſuſpended by the Arch above. I have even been aſſured that this interior Cupola was formed of Pumice-Stones, united by a very fine mixture of Cement and Lime, which reduces this pretended Wonder to nothing. The interior decorations confer not greater honour on the Age of Conſtantine (*b*). A great number of Columns, confuſedly placed, the Module of which ſeems to have been diſproportionate to their Height, Baſes, and Capitals, without Order in their Entabalatures, or Rule, or Taſte in their Profiles, deſerve not ſo much Commendation. There is, in fact, nothing admirable in this

(*b*) It is pretended that this Edifice, built by Conſtantine, and deſtroyed by an Earthquake, was rebuilt by Juſtinian; but it ſeems probable, that nothing of it ought to be attributed to the laſt Emperor, except the Stone Buttreſſes, which have been raiſed without to prop the Building, which the Earthquake had cauſed to give way. The effect of theſe ſhocks is ſtill perceivable, by the leaning of the Pillars, the bronze Baſes of which are no longer level.

Edifice,

Edifice, but the richneſs and abundance of the Materials; in which we ſeem to diſcover the remains of that Wealth no longer to be found at Delphos, or at Delos.

But the beauty of the Moſaic-work, which decorated the Ceiling of Sancta-Sophia, cannot be diſputed. We may ſtill perceive the remains of the Wings of four Cherubim, which ornamented the Cornice of the Arch: but the Turks, who abſurdly waſh this Cupola with Lime-water, have entirely deſtroyed theſe Moſaics; which they would otherwiſe have done by continually tearing off large flakes, bought, by barbarous Curioſity, of Ignorance and Avarice, no leſs barbarous.

Some pieces of this Moſaic, which have broken off in Cryſtals of three or four cubic lines each, being ſent to Vienna to be cut, have been found to be Stones of different colours, of a beautiful luſtre, and prodigious hardneſs.

The contempt of the Turks, for the moſt complete work of which they are poſſeſſed,

poſſeſſed, will eaſily lead us to imagine the ſimplicity of the Ornaments with which they adorn their other Moſques. Theſe Ornaments are only four great Tablets, on which are inſcribed, ſeparately, the Names of the four Diſciples of Mahomet. Several Paſſages of the Koran are likewiſe written in different Places, and particularly near the Pulpit where this revered Book is read, during the Meditation preceding their Prayers. I muſt add that the Women, who are alſo admitted into the Moſques, have a particular Place allotted them; and, though the Manners of the Turks ſhould not have obliged them to ſuch a ſeparation, they might have been excuſed for commanding it in their Temples; where Order and Silence ſhould continually remind us that, though the neceſſities of our Nature allow us only to worſhip the Almighty partially, and by intervals, yet, nothing ought to be permitted which may leſſen the ſolemnity of Adoration, in the Temples conſecrated to his Service.

A kind

A kind of chanting, uſed inſtead of Bells, proclaims the Hours of Prayer in an Arabic-formulary, which compriſes the Unity of God, the Miſſion of the Prophet, Prayers, and good Works. The Muczzins (*i*) of each Moſque aſcend their Minarets for this purpoſe. Theſe Spires have the appearance of Pillars, and are little hollow Towers, four or five Feet in Diameter; they riſe, of an equal thickneſs, from the corner of the Moſque, as high as the Cupolas, where a Gallery, projecting out about twenty or thirty inches, communicates with the Winding-Stair-caſe, which leads thither, by a ſmall Door always directed eaſtward, towards Mecca; the Minaret, then diminiſhing about a quarter of its thickneſs, continues to riſe a fifth or ſixth part higher, and ends in a pointed Top, covered with Lead, and terminated by a kind of Creſcent; the two extremities of which, curved like Spirals, and brought near together, commonly en-

(*i*) The Muczzins are the Criers of the Moſques; this Office the Iman diſcharges himſelf in the ſmall ones; but in the great it is a ſeparate Buſineſs.

cloſe

cloſe the Name of God cut in the Metal. The larger Moſques have many of theſe Minarets, to each of which the Galleries are doubled and tripled, but thoſe of Sancta Sophia have but one; they are likewiſe leſs elevated, and leſs light (*k*).

This deſcription ſeems to preſent an opportunity of diſcuſſing the great regard which the Turks pay to the Creſcent; but I ſhall have occaſion to mention that when I ſpeak of the Artillery of the Grand Seignior, and I ſhall at preſent only obſerve that, when the Palace of the Viſir was rebuilt, after the conflagration I have deſcribed, the Architect made uſe of Fleur-de-Lis, with four Leaves, for the final Ornament of the Cupola which covered the Gate ſeparating the two Courts. He ſubſtituted this embelliſhment to the Creſcents which had decorated the former Gate; he had obſerved it in a Palace in France, had adopted it, and no one imagined it had any ſignification.

(*k*) Theſe Minarets, which were, without doubt, firſt conſtructed after the taking of Conſtantinople, have become diſagreeable, on account of the lightneſs and boldneſs of thoſe which have been ſince built.

By

By a refinement of the like nature, but very different in its effect, two Pillars of ancient green Marble, employed to ornament the principal Gate of the Seraglio, are placed with their Capitals downwards. I complained of this to the Superintendant of the Buildings, who very *ſhrewdly* obſerved that, as the foliages of the Capitals were beautiful pieces of Sculpture, it was proper to place them where they might be ſeen and admired.

A proſpect of Conſtantinople, on the ſide next the Sea, is equally lamentable; we there ſee a cluſter of Pillars, ranged croſſwiſe, and erected on a Stratum, which affords a Foundation for thoſe lofty Walls, while the richeſt Ruins, confounded with the moſt vile Materials, preſent, at every ſtep, the affecting Picture of Ignorance and Barbarity, confuſedly mingled with the precious remains of the Learning of the ancient Greeks.

To finiſh the deſcription of the Turks, and give an idea of their ſtupid Pride, it will be ſufficient to quote one of their favourite Adages:

Riches

Riches in the Indies,
Wit in Europe,
And Pomp among the Ottomans.

A retroſpect of the Proceſſion of the Grand Seignior, on the Day of his Coronation, may enable us to form a proper judgment of this Pomp, of which they boaſt ſo much: though, I cannot but acknowledge that, there is ſomething both brilliant and agreeable in the Retinue which accompanies the Grand Seignior when he goes by Water. The beauty, lightneſs, and richneſs of his Barges, are to be compared to nothing that the French have of the kind. His Highneſs has, alone, the right of an Awning, covered with ſcarlet, over which are three gilt Lanterns. His Barge has twenty-ſix Rowers; and a ſimilar one, following it, is always made uſe of on his return. The different Officers of his Court accompany him in their ſeveral Barges; and the great number of them, joined to the exactneſs of the Rowers, and the ſwiftneſs of the Veſſels, preſent the moſt majeſtic Appearance, joined with the moſt agreeable Proſpect.

When the Son of the Grand Seignior is of age to appear in public, his Barge, likewiſe manned by twenty-ſix Rowers, is diſtinguiſhed by a blue Awning; beſides whom, the Viſir is the only one who can have an Awning, but it muſt be green; and his Barge is only allowed twenty-four Rowers.

The Mufti, expoſed in his to the inclemency of the Air, like the loweſt private Perſon, is only diſtinguiſhed by nine pair of Oars, and the privilege of having two men on each bench. The other Barges of the Great, whoſe number of Oars are, in like manner, determined by the Importance of their Employments, have only one Rower on each bench; nor have the foreign Ambaſſadors more, or any right to the Awning.

But the Barges of the Haram, employed to convey the women of the Grand Seignior, are manned by four-and-twenty Rowers, have white Awnings, and are encloſed all around with Lattices. They likewiſe make uſe of Fences of linen cloth, forming a narrow Paſſage, leading from

from the Gate of the Seraglio down to the Boats; and, when they go abroad for pleaſure, which is very rarely, theſe linen Screens incloſe the rural Haram where they divert themſelves, and into which they are introduced with the ſame precaution. Black Eunuchs ſurround this Incloſure; and the Aſſequis (*l*), armed with Carbines, form a ſecond line of circumvallation, to forbid all approach; and wo be to him who, not appriſed of his danger, ſhall come within reach of their Balls: the ſtroke of Death would be his firſt notice. It is in this manner the Wives of the Monarch, continually penned up like Sheep, ſometimes enjoy the Pleaſures of breathing in the open Air.

This extraordinary Diverſion, certainly, gives no great idea of the habitual Enjoyments to be found in the Haram of the Grand Seignior. It may well be believed that the Women live there in a leſs agreeable manner than in this little Park,

(*l*) *Boſtandgi-Aſſequis* is a choſen Band, which executes the Office of the Provoſt of the Palace; it is compoſed of the Grenadiers of the Boſtandgis.

ſince it is conſidered as an Entertainment. This reflection may, no doubt, be of uſe to correct our Ideas. Thoſe I had at firſt formed, on the civil and military Government of the Turks, were haſty and undigeſted. It is eaſieſt to judge of men when in action; and I ſhall leave further remarks on them to a Narrative of the events of the laſt War, when I had better opportunities for circumſpect Obſervation. Theſe hiſtorical Anecdotes will bring me back to Conſtantinople, which I left, in 1763, to return to France and inform the Miniſter that I muſt loſe my time, and the King his Money, unleſs I were employed in ſome buſineſs of more real Service.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE SECOND.

MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE SECOND.

MY father died at Rodoſto (*a*) in the preſence of Count Tczaky, and in the midſt of his own countrymen. The late

(*a*) A town of the Propontis, aſſigned by the Grand Seignior to be the reſidence of the Prince Ragotzi, and the Refugees of Hungary. My father had followed this Prince, and left him, in the year 1717, to go into the French ſervice. The various kinds of buſineſs he had to tranſact gave him various opportunities of reviſiting his ancient comrades, and he died in the midſt of them, in 1757. Count Tczaky out-lived him only eight days, and ſpoke no more after his death.

miniſtry, which had its views reſpecting me, was changed in France. A name unknown, want of ſupport, and eight years abſence, at Conſtantinople, gave me no great hopes of ſucceſs at Verſailles. I obtained a promiſe, however, of being employed in ſome German court; but, as this would have been taking an ill advantage of the knowledge I had acquired, the Duke de Choiſeul, who had again undertaken the adminiſtration of foreign affairs, and made trial of me in a particular commiſſion, was deſirous of turning my experience to better account, and ſent me a Reſident to the Cham of the Tartars. My zeal made me overlook all the diſagreeable circumſtances of this miſſion: I had neither ſolicited, deſired, nor foreſeen it, but I accepted it as a favour; and to ſerve under the auſpices of this miniſter might well ſo be deemed.

It was determined I ſhould make my journey by land, and, preparations ended, I departed from Paris the 10th of July, 1767, for Vienna, where I ſtayed eight days:

days: from thence I went to Warſovia, and, after ſix weeks reſidence there, came to Caminiec.

The difficulties I had experienced in Poland, from a ſcarcity of proviſions, the want of horſes, and the ſulkineſs of the common people, prepared me to ſupport, with patience, thoſe I had ſtill to undergo, before I arrived at the place of my deſtination. The poſt roads of Poland not paſſing through Caminiec, I was lucky enough to procure Ruſſian horſes, which carried me as far as the firſt Turkiſh place of impoſts, oppoſite Swanitz, on the other ſide the Nieſter. This river divides the two Empires, and ſome Janiſſaries, who were walking along its banks on the Poliſh ſide, attracted by curioſity to look at my carriage, having taken a liking to me, from hearing me ſpeak the Turkiſh language, embarked on board the ſame boat which carried me to the other ſide of the river.

All the people of my retinue, my Secretary excepted, ſuppoſed I was conducting them to Conſtantinople; but I unde-

ceived them during our paſſage acroſs the Nieſter (*b*) (I).

We landed ſafely on the oppoſite ſhore, and my Janiſſaries, eager to go and inform the Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms of my arrival, diſpoſed him ſo much in my favour that I was obliged to yield to the entreaties of this Turk, and paſs a diſagreeable night at a league's diſtance from Kotchim, where I might have been more at my eaſe. The Commiſſioner likewiſe obliged the Ruſſians, who had brought me, to remain with their horſes till the next day, and then to conduct my carriage as far as Kotchim. My repreſentations on this ſubject could not overbalance the convenience of the Commiſſioner, who, though he pretended it was only out of reſpect to me and my accommodation, did it in fact to ſpare himſelf the charges which he would otherwiſe have been at.

We ſcarcely could perceive we were living at his expence, except by the pro-

(*b*) This river is called alſo the Nieper.

The Baron is miſtaken! The Nieper is a large river, two degrees eaſt of the mouth of the Nieſter. Vide note (I) *by M. de Peyſſonnel.* T.

fuſion

fuſion that ſurrounded us, and the Pacha, whom he had informed of my arrival, increaſed our abundance, by a preſent of fruits and flowers which he ſent me, with an aſſurance of my being better received and treated on the morrow.

Being accuſtomed to reſide among the Turks, I paſſed my night much more comfortably than my companions, a part of which was ſpent in the Kioſk of the Commiſſioner. This was his uſual reſidence, and here, baſking on the frontiers of Deſpotiſm, this Turk, while he preſented its image to the Inhabitants of the oppoſite ſhores, enjoyed the plenitude of its power, and intoxicated himſelf with the pleaſure of beholding no other Being of equal importance. He informed me that two young Frenchmen had arrived, a few days before, at Kotchim, had there taken the Turban, and had departed thence for Conſtantinople. He anſwered my queſtions, likewiſe, relative to the revenues of his place, and I learnt that theſe were as profitable to him as they were burthenſome to the unfortunate people who came within his gripe. As this

was all he could teach me, I left him to go and take a little reſt. The people, however, whom the Pacha had ſent to conduct me to Kotchim, and that I might be honourably received there, rouſed me immediately at day break. Each began by announcing the importance of his office, that he might thereby the more plentifully partake of my gratitude. The Commiſſioner's ſervants, who watched my departure, expected likewiſe ſome marks of my favour. Like diſtributions were made to the Guards they had given me, and over whom my people were obliged to keep a ſtrict eye to prevent my being robbed.

We departed with a tolerably numerous train, and I was ſoon put in poſſeſſion of a Jew's houſe, which had been prepared for me in the ſuburbs of Kotchim. An officer and ſome Janiſſaries guarded the door; I was conducted to my habitation by one of the Governor's people, whoſe office it was to furniſh me with all neceſſaries gratis; that is to ſay, at the expence of the Inhabitants; and his firſt care was to aſk me what and how many were my wants. I

deteſted,

deteſted, becauſe I was acquainted with, theſe kind of impoſitions, but I was unacquainted with the power and reſources of the Impoſers. I coolly replied I was in want of nothing, and in the mean time gave ſecret orders for the purchaſe of proviſions. How was it poſſible I ſhould foreſee, this was preciſely the way to aggravate the grievance?

An unfortunate Jew, to whom I had given my commiſſions, and whom the deſire of cheating me had rendered blind to the danger of his taſk, was detected, beaten, and obliged to inform my zealous Purveyor who were the tradeſmen with whom he had dealt. Theſe, 'tis true, eſcaped, by rendering back the money without change; my Jew alſo gave back his profits, but the Turk gave back nothing. He was very careful, however, to order in a great quantity of proviſions, which, being more than I could conſume, he was equally careful to ſell for his own profit.

Such ſcenes added greatly to the deſire I had of haſtening my departure towards the Crimea: but to effect this the Pacha's conſent was neceſſary, and the aſſiſtance

which he alone could procure me. My moſt immediate care was to expedite our interview; for the Turks are ſo ſlow, and ſo indolent, that the firſt piece of politeneſs they offer a ſtranger is, invariably, to invite him to repoſe himſelf. This was the compliment I received on my arrival; but I gave ſuch poſitive aſſurances that nothing fatigued me ſo much as repoſe that I obtained leave of audience for the next day; and the Pacha, who lives in the Fort, ſent, at the hour appointed, horſes and ſeveral of his Officers to conduct me to his preſence.

The Fortreſs of Kotchim is ſituated at the foot of the mountain, which ſtands on the right ſide of the Nieſter; it inclines towards the river, and diſcovers the whole interior of the place to its oppoſite ſhore. The frontiers of Poland, it muſt be owned, afford ſo charming a view, to this Citadel, that one might be tempted to believe the Turkiſh Engineers, to obtain this advantage, had ſacrificed the defence and ſecurity of a moſt important poſt, and which could not hold out three days againſt a regular attack.

The

The Pacha who had the command of it was a venerable old man, concerning whom I had received ſome intimations. I knew that, being of a timid diſpoſition, he ſtood in awe of the Viſir, who was not very well inclined towards him: hence I might reaſonably fear he would not ſuffer me to depart till he had received orders from Conſtantinople. This, after our firſt compliments, was exactly what he announced to me; aſſuring me, nevertheleſs, he would make my ſtay as agreeable as he could; but that was totally out of his power. I diſcuſſed the queſtion with him, and at length perſuaded him that he expoſed himſelf to more danger by detaining me than by ſuffering me to depart; ſince he would diſpleaſe the Tartars, by whom I was expected, without pleaſing the Viſir, by whom I was not expected; and, having guaranteed the protection of the Cham to him, I brought him to a determination. My departure was fixed for the next day, and we took leave of each other with the greater cordiality, from my having convinced him it was in my power to do him various good offices.

His firſt Tchoadar, who was deſtined to be my Mikmander (*c*), came to me as ſoon as I got home, enquired what meaſures were neceſſary to take, and left me to get his orders ſigned, and prepare the Poſt-horſes we ſtood in need of: but, notwithſtanding the violence uſed to procure them, we could not ſet off till late the next day; and, in ſpite of the blows which our Mikmander dealt to the unfortunate Poſtillions, we could not increaſe our pace. We might have gone further, however, if Ali Aga (*d*) had not ſtopped us a league ſhort of the Pruth, in order to go before, and prepare the paſſage. For this purpoſe he left us at a tolerable village, the wretched Inhabitants of which were ſoon obliged to bring us food. A family inſtantly diſlodged, to make room for us, two ſheep killed, roaſted, eaten, and not paid for, and blows unneceſſarily diſtributed, began to put me out of

(*c*) A perſon whoſe office it is to precede and prepare the way for Ambaſſadors, and others who travel at the expence of the Port.

(*d*) The name of the Mikmander or Conductor.

humour

humour with my Conductor, who ſet off the ſame evening to prepare the means of tranſporting my carriage acroſs the Pruth.

I profited by his departure to give an old Turk, who appeared charged with the intereſt of the whole Community, the value of what we had conſumed; but ſoon was ſurrounded by the Inhabitants, who came to complain that I had not diſtributed my largeſs myſelf, they not having received a farthing of what I had given. The old Turk, added they, to whom you intruſted your bounty, is ſupported by four of his cut-throat ſons, who, without contributing to any of the expences of the Community, ſeize upon all its benefices. Theſe poor people, while they related their griefs, certainly never ſuſpected they had the happineſs to live under an Ariſtocracy. I doubled the ſum, in order to fulfil my firſt intention, and each of us being b bout our quarters, I choſe to take up mine in my carriage, in which I ſlept ſo ſoundly that we were on the road before I awoke.

The Pruth was but a league diſtant, and our Conductor, whom we ſaw on horſeback

in

in the midſt of a group of Peaſants, dealing out his favours with vaſt activity, announced our arrival at the river, which, on account of its high banks, till we came to it was unperceived.

This ſtream ſeparates the Pachalik of Kotchim from Moldavia. Ali Aga had, on the Eve, ſwam to the oppoſite ſhore, where, with the aſſiſtance of his whip, he had aſſembled three hundred of the Moldavians, had employed them the whole night in forming the trunks of trees into a crazy Raft, and had repaſſed upon it to our ſide: but this was no good proof of its ſolidity. In the mean time I prepared to ſacrifice, if needs muſt, my carriage, and all its contents. I only took out my pocket-book, but determined not to expoſe myſelf to a perſonal riſk, which appeared ſo evident, nor yet my people, whom I reſerved for a ſecond trip, if the firſt ſucceeded.

My Conductor, proud of having conſtructed ſo great a work, invited me to remount my carriage. And how, ſaid I, with impatience, will you get it ſafely down to the edge of the river? Or how will you

you afterwards keep it on your rickety Raft, ſcarcely big enough to contain it, and which muſt ſink under its weight?——How? By the help of theſe, ſaid he; ſhewing me his whip and above a hundred bony Peaſants, whom he had brought from the other ſhore. Be under no apprehenſions, I would make them carry the Univerſe on their ſhoulders; and if the Raft ſink, theſe merry fellows can ſwim and will ſuſtain it; ſhould you loſe ſo much as a pin, I would hang them every one.

Such a profuſion of ignorance and barbarity diſguſted without ſatisfying me. My reſolution was taken, and I told him neither I nor my people would paſs till a ſecond venture, he was therefore to act as he thought proper. I then ſat myſelf down on the cliff, that I might the better judge of this fine manœuvre, and enjoy at leaſt a ſpectacle the expence of which, I ſuppoſed, I ſhould dearly pay.

The name of God firſt pronounced, followed with a plenitude of laſhes, were the ſignals to begin. They unharneſſed and brought the carriage in their arms to the edge

edge of the precipice, where the haſty pickaxe had ſcarcely eaſed the ſudden declivity. There I beheld them, not without ſhuddering, ready to be cruſhed beneath the weight of my Berlin. It was placed upon the Raft for the deſcent, and on this it could only be placed diagonally: to keep it in that poſition four wretches were obliged to lie down under the wheels, whence the leaſt jerk muſt have ſent them and the whole equipage to the bottom of the river. Arrived at the water's edge, the next thing neceſſary was to ſet the Raft afloat, which the hundred Moldavians at length accompliſhed, guiding it, ſome wading and ſome ſwimming, with long poles, to the other ſide; where Buffaloes, ready prepared, were harneſſed to the carriage, and in a twinkling I ſaw it on the ſummit of the oppoſite cliff. I then began to breathe with ſomewhat more eaſe, and the Raft, which ſoon returned, tranſported us all, without inconvenience or difficulty, to Moldavia.

It may eaſily be imagined Ali Aga was triumphant, and that I did not depart without giving ſome five or ſix guineas to the work-

workmen; but what may not be ſo readily ſuppoſed, and what I had not foreſeen myſelf, was that my Conductor, ever attentive to all my actions, and moſt trifling geſtures, ſtayed ſome time behind, to reckon with theſe unfortunate Labourers, concerning the ſmall ſalary they had received.

He overtook us about an hour after, and poſted before, to prepare our breakfaſt three leagues from the Pruth, where we joined him, while he was providing food for us, by means of the ſame tool with which he conſtructed our Raft. Had he not made a too frequent uſe of this ſaid utenſil, I ſhould have thought Ali Aga an agreeable fellow enough; I therefore undertook to correct this his battering propenſity.

THE BARON.

Your dexterity at the paſſage of the Pruth, and the good cheer you give us, would leave me nothing to deſire, my dear Ali Aga, were you not to beat theſe miſerable Moldavians ſo often; or were you to beat them only when they are diſobedient.

ALI AGA.

What matters it to them, ſince beat them I muſt, whether it be before or after? and is it not better to proceed to buſineſs at once, than after a loſs of time?

THE BARON.

A loſs of time! And is your time well employed then to beat wretches who have not offended you, and who, with all good will, ſubmiſſion and exertion, execute things almoſt impoſſible?

ALI AGA.

What, Sir! have you lived at Conſtantinople, do you ſpeak our language, and know the Greeks, and are you ignorant that the Moldavians will do nothing unleſs you firſt knock them down? Do you ſuppoſe your carriage would have paſſed the Pruth without the exerciſe I gave them all night, and till you arrived at the ſide of the river?

THE BARON.

Yes, I believe that, without beating, they would have done it all for fear of being beaten. But, be that as it may, we have no more

more rivers to croſs, the poſt-houſes muſt furniſh us with horſes, and we ſhall only want proviſions, which article I am moſt intereſted in: and let me own, my dear Ali, the morſels you cut for me, with the laſhes of your whip, ſtick in my throat. Leave me to pay, that is all I deſire.

ALI AGA.

You would certainly take a good method to avoid indigeſtion; for your money would not even procure you bread.

THE BARON.

Be that my concern; I will pay ſo well, that I ſhall have every thing of the beſt, and with greater certainty than you yourſelf.

ALI AGA.

I tell you, you will not get ſo much as bread. I know the Moldavians; they inſiſt on being beaten: beſides, I am ordered to defray your expences every-where, and theſe Infidel-Raſcals are rich enough to ſupport the heavieſt Impoſts. This they will think a light one, and will be well ſatisfied, provided they be well beaten.

THE BARON.

I beg, my dear Ali Aga, you will grant my requeſt: I am willing to pay, and I will engage they are willing to be paid, as well as to be kindly treated; ſuffer me to manage this matter.

ALI AGA.

But we ſhall be famiſhed.

THE BARON.

No no; I have taken it into my head, and muſt make the Experiment.

ALI AGA.

Well, you are poſitive, and ſo be it; proceed with your Experiment, of which, it ſeems, you ſtand in need, to know theſe Moldavians; but, remember, it is not juſt that I ſhould go without my ſupper; and, when your Oratory and your Money have both failed, you will, no doubt, think it but right I ſhould take my own method.

THE BARON.

Certainly; and, theſe ſtipulations made, I muſt beg that, when we approach the village

lage where we are to reſt, the Primate (*e*) may be ſent to me, in order that I may treat with him amicably for proviſions; and likewiſe that we have a good fire under ſome ſhelter, where we may paſs the night without mixing with the Inhabitants, and without fear of the Plague, which has made its appearance in Moldavia.

In that caſe, ſaid Ali Aga, I have no occaſion to go before. He then ordered one of his people to ride on, and do what I had deſired, and again repeated, ſmiling, that he would not go without his ſupper.

The length of way we had to make would not permit us to arrive before ſun-ſet, and our reſting-place was indicated by the fire which was ready prepared.

Faithful to his engagement, my Conductor, when we alighted, went towards the fire, ſat himſelf down, with his elbow leaning on his ſaddle, his whip upon his knee, and ſilently enjoying my approaching diſappointment. I, on my part, was not leſs ea-

(*e*) A title equivalent to that of Mayor, but his functions differ in proportion as Slavery differs from Liberty.

ger in my hopes of procuring nouriſhment from that Humanity which traffics its neceſſities. I aſked for the Primate; they pointed him out: I approached, laid down ten crowns upon the ground, and ſpoke to him in Turkiſh and in Greek, in the following terms, faithfully tranſlated.

THE BARON. (*In Turkiſh.*)

Here, my friend, here is money to buy the proviſions we want. I have always loved the Moldavians, cannot bear to ſee them ill-treated, and beg you would immediately procure me a ſheep (*f*) and bread. Keep the remainder of the money to drink my health.

THE MOLDAVIAN. (*Feigning not to underſtand Turkiſh.*)

He not know underſtand.

THE BARON.

How! Not underſtand! Don't you underſtand Turkiſh?

THE MOLDAVIAN.

No Turkiſh. He not know underſtand.

(*f*) A good live ſheep is worth about half a Crown.

THE

THE BARON. (*Speaking Greek.*)

Well, let us talk Greek then. Bring me a ſheep and ſome bread, and that is all I aſk.

THE MOLDAVIAN. (*Continuing to feign ignorance, and making ſigns to ſhew there is no food in the village, but that the people are dying of hunger.*)

No bread——Poor——He not know underſtand.

THE BARON.

What! have you no bread?

THE MOLDAVIAN.

No Bread——No.

THE BARON.

Unhappy people, I am ſorry for you: but you will eſcape beating at leaſt, and that is ſomething. It is diſagreeable, no doubt, to lie down ſupperleſs; you, however, are a proof that this misfortune happens to many honeſt people.—You hear, my dear Ali, and muſt own that, if money can have no influence, neither could your ſtripes. Theſe poor creatures have no food, for which I am more ſorry than for my own momentary neceſſities. We ſhall have the better appetite to-morrow.

ALI AGA.

Oh no; for my part, it will not be better to-morrow, I aſſure you, than it is to night.

THE BARON.

It is your own fault. Why did you let us ſtop at a wretched Village, where they have not ſo much as bread? Faſting muſt be your puniſhment.

ALI AGA.

A wretched Village! Sir, if the darkneſs did not conceal it, you would be enchanted. It is a ſmall Town, where every thing is abundant, even to cinnamon (*g*).

THE BARON.

So, ſo, I ſuppoſe your whipping fit is come on you again.

ALI AGA.

By no means, Sir; it is only my ſupping fit: which certainly will not leave me. And in order to ſatisfy my appetite, and prove

(*g*) The Turks are very fond of this Bark; they put it in all their ſauces, and compare it to every thing moſt exquiſite.

to

to you that I know the Moldavians better than you, permit me to ſpeak.

THE BARON.

And will your flogging abate your hunger?

ALI AGA.

Moſt undoubtedly. If you have not a very excellent ſupper, in a quarter of an hour, you ſhall repay me every ſtroke I beſtow.

THE BARON.

I take you at your word; but, remember, if you puniſh the Innocent, I will moſt certainly return your favours, and with a hearty good will.

ALI AGA.

As heartily as you pleaſe; do you only remain as ſilent during my negociation as I did during yours.

THE BARON.

That is but reaſonable; I will take your place.

ALI AGA [*riſes, hides his whip under his habit, advances careleſsly towards the Greek, and taps him on the ſhoulder.*]

How goes it, my friend, how goes it? —Why doſt not ſpeak? What, doſt thou not know thy friend, Ali Aga?——Come, come, ſpeak.

THE MOLDAVIAN.

He not know underſtand.

ALI AGA.

He not know underſtand?—Ah ha! This is aſtoniſhing! But ſeriouſly, my friend, doſt thou not underſtand the Turkiſh language?

THE MOLDAVIAN.

No; he not know underſtand.

ALI AGA [*Knocks him down with his fiſt, and keeps kicking him while he riſes.*]

Take that, Raſcal, take that to teach thee then.

THE MOLDAVIAN [*in good Turkiſh.*]

What do you beat me for? Do you not know very well that we are poor people, and that our Princes ſcarcely leave us the air we breathe?

ALI

ALI AGA [*to the Baron.*]

Well, Sir, you ſee I am an expert maſter; he ſpeaks Turkiſh already, miraculouſly. We ſhall now be able to have a little converſation together. [*To the Moldavian, leaning on his ſhoulder.*] Since it appears, my friend, thou underſtandeſt the Turkiſh tongue, tell me, how fares it with thyſelf, thy wife, and thy children?

THE MOLDAVIAN.

As well as it can with people who are often in want of neceſſaries.

ALI AGA.

Pſhaw, thou art joking, friend, thou art in want of nothing, except of being well baſted a little oftener; but all in good time. Proceed we to buſineſs. I muſt inſtantly have two ſheep, a dozen of fowls, a dozen of pigeons, fifty pounds of bread, four oques (*b*) of butter, with ſalt, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, lemons, wines, ſallad, and good oil of olives, all in great plenty.

(*b*) A Turkiſh weight of about 42 ounces.

THE

THE MOLDAVIAN [*weeping*].

I have already told you that we are poor Creatures, without ſo much as bread to eat. Where muſt we get cinnamon?

ALI AGA [*taking his whip from under his habit, and beating the Moldavian till he runs away.*]

You have nothing, have you, Infidel-Knave? I will make you rich in a trice, the ſame way I made you find your tongue.

[*The Greek flies, and Ali Aga returns and ſits by the fire.*]

You ſee, Sir, my receipt is ſomething better than yours.

THE BARON.

To make the Dumb ſpeak, I grant, but not to get a ſupper; for which reaſon, I believe, I am a quantity of ſtripes in your debt; your method of procuring proviſions being no better than mine.

ALI AGA.

Oh there will be no want of proviſions. If in one quarter of an hour, our Watches

ON

on the table, all I have ordered does not arrive, here's my whip, take it and uſe it as I have done.

In fact, the quarter of an hour was not expired before the Primate, aſſiſted by three of his brethren, brought all the proviſions, without forgetting the cinnamon.

After ſuch a proof, how could I deny that Ali's receipt was the beſt of the two, or continue to plead in behalf of humanity? My error was inconceivable, but evident: I ſubmitted, and, in ſpite of my feelings, left my Conductor to provide food, in future, without diſputing about the means.

The ſoil we traverſed drew all my attention; new Landſcapes, equally intereſting by a rich cultivation and a vaſt variety of objects, preſented themſelves at every ſtep, and I ſhould have compared Moldavia to the Province of Burgundy, if the Grecian Principality had enjoyed the ineſtimable advantages which reſult from a moderate Government.

Long ruled by their Princes, according to the faith of Treaties, theſe People ought ſtill to have been free from the effects of Deſpotiſm;

Deſpotiſm; and ſo they might, had not their Princes been removeable at the pleaſure of the Ottoman Port. Liable, at firſt, only to a very ſmall tribute, Moldavia, as well as Walachia, at that time enjoyed a ſhare of liberty. In the perſons of their Princes they beheld, if not men of merit, at leaſt men of illuſtrious Families, whom the Conqueror reſpected; and, in theſe ſame Princes, the Grecian Nation loved to contemplate its ancient Maſters. But all was preſently confounded; the ſubjected Greeks beheld themſelves Slaves, and emulation and diſtinction were loſt among them: mutual contempt increaſed their degradation, and the grand Seignior, like themſelves, ſoon likewiſe forgot all diſtinction of perſons. The Trader was elevated to a Principality, every factious Pretender put in his claim, and theſe unhappy Provinces, frequently ſet up to ſale, preſently groaned beneath the moſt cruel vexations.

An annual Tax, become immoderate by ſuch kind of auctions, enormous ſums borrowed by the Feoffee to purchaſe the Fief at five and twenty per cent. other ſums daily employed

employed to out-bid other Pretenders, the parade of theſe new made Princes, and the avidity of ſuch ephemeral Beings, were ſo many cauſes, all concurring in the devaſtation of the two fineſt Provinces of the Ottoman Empire. If we conſider that Moldavia and Walachia are actually more highly taxed, and more cruelly ſtripped, than they were during their moſt flouriſhing ſtate, we may form a juſt idea of the deplorable deſtiny of theſe Countries.

It ſeems that Deſpotiſm, uniformly occupied in deſtruction, thinks it neceſſary to increaſe exactions in proportion as men diminiſh in number, and their Lands in fertility. As I traverſed Moldavia, I beheld them gathering the eleventh capitation for the year, although it was then but the month of October.

We drew near to Yaſſi, whither my Conductor had ſent a Courier, in advance, to announce my arrival. I profited by this occaſion, and ſent my compliments to the Prince who then governed. He was the ſon of the old Drago-man of Conſtantinople, of whom I have before ſpoken. I imagined

gined our former acquaintance might be of uſe to me in Moldavia; but I did not foreſee the eager reception that awaited my arrival at his capital.

It was already dark; and, in a narrow, rocky road, the clay-ſoil of which increaſed our difficulties, about a league from the town, they announced the Prince's carriage, which was ſent to meet me. Its coming moſt effectually ſtopped up the paſſage; and, to increaſe my chagrin, a Secretary ſent to compliment me, groped me out in the dark, and acquitted himſelf ſo copiouſly of his commiſſion that I ſhould have remained there to this hour, if I had not ſuffered him to convey me to his Cariola, the magnificence of which he would make me admire, though the darkneſs made it impoſſible to be ſeen. Ah, my dear Ali, cried I, yours is an excellent recipe. Ali had no doubt of its effects, for he was juſt then employing it with great activity and efficacy, in order to turn the Carriage about by ſtrength of arm, in which I had juſt taken my ſeat. I hoped to draw ſome advantage from my ſituation, by interrogating

terrogating the Secretary concerning thoſe objects which had moſt excited my curioſity, and which could neither expoſe his politics nor his diſcretion to any danger; but all in vain, I could obtain nothing but repeated regret that the obſcurity of Night ſhould hide the gilding of our Car, and deprive me of all the eclat of a triumphal Entry.

The glimmering of lights, ſcattered here and there, told us we approached the Town; and the noiſe of the beams of wood, over which I felt our carriage roll, again prompted me to interrogate the Secretary. From him I learnt theſe croſs-beams were laid, at ſmall intervals, along all the ſtreets, becauſe of the boggy ſoil on which Yaſſi is built. He added that a fire had lately reduced the greateſt part of the Town to aſhes; that they were buſy rebuilding, and that the new houſes were to be erected in a more modern taſte. He was giving me this deſcription when our Carriage, turning too ſhort, and hitching upon a corner of a newly calcined wall, introduced us into the Convent of the Miſſionaries, where

I was to lodge, and where I was very glad to get out of a moſt jolting Vehicle, and get rid of a moſt incommodious maker of compliments.

A good ſupper was ready, and the Italian Cordeliers, ſettled at Yaſſi, under the protection of the King, and the direction of the Propaganda, had prepared us tolerably good places of repoſe. Before I retired, I received new Compliments from the Prince on my happy arrival, and in the morning was viſited by the Governor of the Town. He was mounted on a horſe, richly capariſoned: a crowd of footmen, in the habits of Tchoadars, attended this Greek, whom I had known at Conſtantinople in a very different ſtate. It was eaſy to be ſeen, his firſt care was to obtain my admiration of his preſent Oriental Pomp. While I was admiring the ſilly pride with which he ſwelled, Ali Aga entered and deranged every thing by his preſence. His free manner of treating the Moldavian Peaſants has been before remarked, but I imagined his Prerogatives and Importance would have been leſſened at

Yaſſi.

Yaſſi. This, however, was a freſh wrong I did him; I ſaw him appear with a fine robe, a grave carriage and a commanding tone. He ſeemed a Courtier, who, capable of becoming Viſir, and creating Princes of Moldavia, thought himſelf already their ſuperior. In this ſpirit, he began by treating the Governor of the Town very cavalierly, becauſe the Maſter of the Horſe had not ſent the attendants neceſſary to conduct him to the audience of the Prince. In vain did the Governor alledge this neglect was no fault of his. You are one as bad as the other, replied Ali Aga, but I will work a reform. Happily the deſired attendance appeared: it conſiſted of a horſe, properly capariſoned, and four of the Prince's Tchoadars to accompany—Whom? The Tchoadar of the Pacha of Kotchim; who was himſelf only a Pacha of the ſecond order. But there are no degrees in rank between a Turk and a Greek; the firſt is every thing, the ſecond nothing.

According to this rule, which is never conteſted, Ali Aga mounted his horſe with ſingular majeſty, while every perſon he

met ſtopped to pay him a profound ſalutation. To this reſpectful homage, he gravely replied by a ſlight motion of the head, and a half ſmile of condeſcenſion. His viſit to the Prince was repaid in preſents: each ſtep he took, in Yaſſi, was equally ſubſervient to his intereſt and his perſonal dignity.

While my Conductor thus mingled the uſeful and the agreeable, I was buſily ſeeking the means to replace him, and continue my journey. The Prince of Moldavia could eſcort me no farther than the Frontiers of Tartary; and I wrote by a courier to the Sultan Seraſker of Beſſarabia, praying him to ſend an Eſcort to meet me on the confines of Moldavia.

Theſe affairs finiſhed, I got into the Carriage the Prince had ſent for me, and, ſurrounded by many more attendants and footmen than I wiſhed, was conducted to the Palace, which I was eager to penetrate, that I might avoid the tedious Turkiſh ceremonies which there waited me, and which Greek pride had prepared for my reception.

I found

I found the Prince, with his brother, in an apartment, the riches of which were not ſo remarkable as were two enormous arm chairs, with ſcarlet coverings. I ſoon divined all the importance of theſe, but poſitively refuſed the honour of ſitting in one of them. The Prince took another ſeat, and our former friendſhip, with which our converſation began, led him to confide to me the perplexity of his preſent ſituation. I eaſily perceived that the intriguing fanaticiſm of his Brother rendered it truly cruel, and expoſed him to great future riſks. We ended our conference by the neceſſary arrangements for my departure; after which I was obliged to ſuffer the whole routine of Turkiſh Ceremonies.

The moſt important and reſpectful of theſe is the preſenting Sherbet, which is always followed by an aſperſion of Roſe-water and perfumes of Aloes. This Sherbet, ſo much talked of in Europe, and ſo little known, is made of conſerved fruits diſſolved in water, but with ſo much muſk as almoſt to deſtroy the taſte of the liquor. Thus the Vaſe, once filled, ſuffices for the viſits of the week.

I uſed it very ſparingly, as I likewiſe did the conſerves brought with the coffee, and in the ſerving of which they never change the ſpoon. The ſame ceremony was repeated in the Anti-chamber, in favour of my Lackey, who was far from practiſing my abſtemiouſneſs on this occaſion: his appetite, leſs delicate, refuſed nothing; he eat whatever they gave him; ginger, comfits, and conſerves; and ſwallowed, at a ſingle draft, all the Sherbet. The Courtiers were in the heighth of their admiration as I paſſed from the Prince's apartments.

At my return, to the Convent, I found ſeveral Greeks, of my acquaintance, waiting for me, ſome of whom I invited to dinner, and they afterwards accompanied me in the viſits I had to make.

The town of Yaſſi, ſituated in a boggy ſoil, is ſurrounded by hills, which every where preſent rural proſpects, and on which might be built the moſt agreeable country houſes: inſtead of which, a few cattle are ſcattered over them; and, if we except the houſes of the Boyards, and thoſe of the Greeks who come from Conſtantinople,

nople, in the ſuite of the Prince, to ſhare with him the ſpoils of Moldavia, all the other habitations of the Capital beſpeak the utmoſt miſery.

The Boyards (*i*) repreſent, with vaſt arrogance, the Grandees of the country; tho', in reality, they are only rich Proprietors and cruel tax-gatherers. Seldom do they live in amity with their Prince, but generally are intriguing againſt him, and Conſtantinople is the centre of their factions. Hither doth each party carry his complaints and his money, and the Sultan Seraſker, of Beſſarabia, affords a ready refuge to thoſe Boyards whom the Port thinks proper to ſacrifice to its tranquillity. The Tartar Prince gives ſafety to the Boyard, and under his protection he is often re-eſtabliſhed; but for this protection he muſt pay.

Theſe various expences, which the Boyards reimburſe to themſelves by oppreſſing Individuals, added to the taxes which the

(*i*) An appellation given to the great Land-holders, a ſpecies of Nobility, whoſe only title is their wealth; but wealth is every thing, and the ſtricteſt order ſcarcely can reſiſt i ts influence.

Prince impoſes to pay his annual Tribute, and other objects of expence which I have already mentioned, overburden Moldavia ſo much that, rich as is the ſoil, it is ſcarcely ſufficient. This Province, certainly, as well as Walachia, to which it is contiguous, when they ſubmitted to Mahomet II. on condition of both being governed by Grecian Princes, and only ſubjected to a moderate taxation, did not make ſo good a bargain as the authors of this Treaty imagined. It was not foreſeen that the vanity of the Greeks would put the Government up to auction; they were equally blind to the fatal conſequences of that Clauſe by which the Grand Seignior reſerved the right of removing the Prince at his pleaſure. A dreadful compact, this, between a voracious Deſpot and the pompous Slave whom he raiſes to a Principality, when he pleaſes, and depoſes when he wills. It is evident that this power of removal cannot fail of rapidly carrying taxation to the moſt grievous exceſs, and that univerſal depredation muſt be the neceſſary conſequence; and thus we find that the whole art of theſe

ſubaltern Governments conſiſts in ſeizing and employing every means which can accelerate this devouring rapacity.

Moldavia and Walachia were antiently a Roman Colony; the inhabitants ſtill ſpeak a degenerate kind of Latin, which language is called Roomia, or the Roman Tongue. Unhappy under the haughty Roman yoke, theſe Provinces groan, at preſent, beneath a burden much more oppreſſive, more cruel, and more humiliating, for they are ravaged by ſubalterns who are only inveſted with a precarious and momentary power.

Every thing being prepared for the proſecution of my journey, I parted from Ali Aga, by recompenſing his good offices, and left Yaſſi, accompanied by two of the Prince's Janiſſaries, and a Greek Conductor. Theſe three perſons every where put thoſe great principles in action which are ſo prevalent with the Moldavians, and in which I had been inſtructed by Ali Aga. One of the Turks performed a feat of agility and rapine which deſerves to be mentioned.

We were paſſing through an agreeable valley, with hills on each ſide, where ſheep

were feeding under the care of ſhepherds. I was queſtioning one of the Janiſſaries concerning the quality of the wool; you ſhall judge for yourſelf, ſaid he: then ſpurred his horſe towards a flock of ſheep, galloped through the midſt of it, ſelected one of the largeſt, purſued and overtook it, ſtooped, ſeized it by the fleece, raiſed it with one hand, and, recovering his poſition, threw it acroſs the bow of his ſaddle, and rejoined me full ſpeed. In vain did I endeavour to make him reſtore his prize to the owner, or pay him the value of it: he laughed at my delicacy, and at night regaled himſelf and his companion on his booty.

This part of Moldavia ſeemed as fine a country as that we had paſſed in our journey to Yaſſi; but I obſerved that, as we approached Kichenow, the country became more mountainous. We afterwards deſcended through ſtraits that became more and more open, till at laſt we diſcovered Beſſarabia. Ere we yet had entered it, we ſaw the hills, to the right and left, covered

with

with Dromedaries (*k*). The Greek, who accompanied me, obſerved that theſe animals, which belong to the Tartars, by thus ſtraying beyond their bounds, occaſioned frequent diſcuſſions, which never ended till the paſturage in litigation was conſumed.

We ſaw, ſoon afterwards, a greater number of theſe herds, among which were ſome white Dromedaries.

Scarcely had we paſſed the frontiers before we beheld a troop of horſemen coming towards us. This was the Interpreter of the Sultan Seraſker, whom he had ſent to meet me with ten of his guards, accompanied by my returning Courier. He brought me the Sultan's anſwer, to which the Interpreter added ſeveral obliging things

(*k*) This animal, which has two bunches on its back, is much larger than the Camel, which has only one; but it ſeems people are not always clear in their application of the names which ought to diſtinguiſh theſe two ſpecies of animals. However, as the Arabs, who have only the Camel with one bunch, call it *Daivai*, and the Oſtrich *Daivai-Cooſhoo*, or Camel-bird, it ſeems that the name of Dromedary ought to be given to the animal with two bunches.

which

which he was charged by the Sultan to ſay to me perſonally. After this four horſemen formed the Van-guard, and we purſued our way through an open flat country, and over a hard ſoil, where there were ſcarcely any viſible traces of a Road.

My new Conductor was a Jew Renegado, born in Poland. He ſpoke German, and loved ſo much to hear himſelf talk that I learnt his whole hiſtory without the trouble of aſking a ſingle queſtion. He alſo informed me that the Noguaí-Tartars were diſſatisfied with the Cham, who weakly had ceded, to the Grand Seignior, the right of Ichctirach over the two Provinces of Yedeſan and Dgamboylook, which we were to croſs in our journey to Orcapi. Our converſation was frequently interrupted by a circumſtance which would not deſerve notice, had it not ſerved as a means to eſtabliſh me in the good opinion of the ſuperſtitious Tartars.

Juſt as we arrived on the frontiers, and at the moment that the Eſcort came up with me, a Stork, a kind of bird which feeds on ſerpents, builds its neſt on the houſes, and is revered by the Orientals as a kind of Penates,

Penates, or houſhold God, ſeemed, likewiſe, to come and welcome me. It paſſed rapidly to the left, very near my carriage, flew round it, repaſſed to the right, then, ſeeming to lead the way, alighted two hundred fathoms before the foremoſt horſeman. As they came up it roſe again, made the like tour, flew forward, and repeated this kind of manœuvre till we arrived at Kiſhela (*l*).

Here the Sultan who commands in Beſſarabia reſides, and it is conſidered as the capital town of that Province. The Prince who occupied this poſt was the eldeſt ſon of the reigning Sultan, and bore the title of Seraſker (*m*). A Mirza (*n*) came on his part to compliment me on my arrival, and conduct me to the lodging prepared for my reception. I afterwards went with this

(*l*) Kiſhela ſignifies Winter Quarters.

(*m*) Seraſker is a Turkiſh word, compoſed of *Ser*, which, in Perſian, ſignifies *Head*, and *Aſker*, that is to ſay, *Soldiers*. It is a military degree, that admits of no ſuperior, ſomething like Generaliſſimo, and is a title given to thoſe who command on the frontiers, or are detached with a conſiderable body of troops.

(*n*) Mirza ſignifies a Nobleman. The different claſſes of the Tartarian Nobility will be ſeen hereafter.

Gentleman

Gentleman to the Sultan (*o*), who was a young Prince of about eighteen or twenty, tolerably grown, well formed, with a figure rather noble than agreeable, and whoſe modeſt carriage was not totally free from embarraſſment. This I took care to diſſipate, and ſoon perceived that the Prince, as well as the Mirzas who compoſed his Court, called barbarous, had infinitely more of the gentle and the pleaſing than is often found among People who pretend to be poliſhed.

Except the habits of the Sultan and the Mirzas, which, without being rich, have a kind of ſtudied elegance, the Tartars ſeek for little which is not ſtrictly neceſſary. The luxury of glaſs windows is confined ſolely to the Prince's apartment; paper frames are uſed in winter, and taken away in ſummer, that they may breathe more freely, and have a full view of the Black Sea, which is diſcovered at a diſtance. The Sultan invited me to ſupper, and, though very hungry, I ſoon perceived the excellent fiſh of the Nieſter were worthy of better Cooks.

(*o*) Sultan, as we have before ſaid, means a Prince of the Blood.

The

The pleaſures of hunting, hawking, and courſing, ſeemed to be the only ones in which the Tartars took delight; and the Sultan frequently formed hunting parties, attended by numbers of the Mirzas. They depart for the Chace with arms and baggage; it laſts ſeveral days: Camps are formed every night; a body of troops always follows the Seraſker; and ſometimes theſe parties of pleaſure ſerve as pretexts for more ſerious Expeditions.

The night was ſpent in repairing a ſmall Carriage I had bought at Yaſſi, which I had converted into a kind of Bed. A Cart carried our trunks, with which my carriage had been loaded as far as Moldavia; and, the orders of the Sultan being expedited, I departed the next day with a Mirza, whoſe office it was to conduct me, and an Eſcort of forty Horſemen, armed with bows, arrows, and ſabres, for Bactcheſeray (*p*).

Little

(*p*) Bactcheſeray is the reſidence of the Cham of the Tartars, and, though now conſidered as the Capital of the Crimea, was formerly only a country ſeat, called the Palace of the Gardens. The Sovereigns, having there fixed their reſidence, attracted Inhabitants,

Little accuſtomed to military Order and Diſcipline, I did not expect theſe things from our Tartars. After we had paſſed the Nieſter, however, which parts Beſſarabia from Yedeſan, in which Province the Hordes were ſuppoſed to be in a kind of Rebellion, the Officer who commanded the detachment put it into a regular military diſpoſition. A Van Guard of twelve horſe preceded us about two hundred paces, four men were placed at each door of the carriage, which the Officer took under his particular care; two carts followed after; eight men brought up the rear, and two platoons, of ſix men each, kept at a diſtance of ſix hundred paces to the right and left.

The Plains we croſſed are ſo level and open that no irregularity could be ſeen, not even ſo much as a tree or a ſhrub; nor did we perceive any thing during the whole day,

habitants, and the City, preſerving the ſame name, has uſurped the precedency over the antient town of Crimea, which is only a poor Village at preſent, and the former importance of which can only be gathered from its Tombs.

except

except ſome Noguais, whoſe heads the piercing eyes of our Tartars diſtinguiſhed when the Earth's convexity hid the reſt of their bodies. Each of theſe Noguais were riding alone, and thoſe whom our Patroles interrogated relieved us from the fear of the pretended troubles which had ariſen.

I was curious to know their buſineſs, and learnt that theſe people, ſuppoſed Nomades, becauſe they live under a kind of Tents, were ſettled, however, by Tribes, in vallies eight or ten fathoms deep, which interſect the Plains from north to ſouth, and which are more than thirty leagues long, though but half a quarter of a league wide. Muddy Rivulets run through the middle of them, and terminate towards the ſouth in ſmall Lakes, which communicate with the Black Sea (*q*). On the borders of theſe Rivulets are

(*q*) Notwithſtanding the barren picture which theſe countries conſtantly offer, and the facility with which a compariſon might be drawn between this ſoil and that of Moldavia and Poland, and the advantages they enjoy, yet ſuch is the force of Habit, and ſo relative are the Neceſſities of men to Habit, that it vanquiſhes all ſenſations. The Noguais conceive it impoſſible

are the Tents of the Noguais, as well as the ſheds meant to give ſhelter, during winter, to the numerous flocks and herds of theſe paſtoral people.

Each proprietor has his own mark, which is burnt into the thighs of horſes, oxen and dromedaries, and painted with colours on the wool of ſheep. The latter are kept near the owner's habitation, but the other ſpecies, united in herds, are, towards the Spring, driven to the plains, where they are left at large till the Winter. At the approach of this ſeaſon, they ſeek and drive them to their ſheds, and this ſearch was the buſineſs of the Noguais we had met.

What is moſt ſingular, in this ſearch, is that the Tartar employed in it has always an extent of Plain, which, from one valley to another, is ten or twelve leagues wide, and more than thirty long, yet does not know which way to direct his ſearch, nor troubles himſelf about it. He puts up, in a

poſſible to traverſe their Plains without envying them their poſſeſſion. You have travelled a great way, ſaid one of theſe Tartars to me, with whom I was intimate, but did you ever before ſee a Country like ours?

little

bag, ſix pounds of the flour of roaſted millet, which is ſufficient to laſt him thirty days. This proviſion made, he mounts his horſe, ſtops not till the Sun goes down, then clogs the animal, leaves him to graze, ſups on his flour, goes to ſleep, awakes, and continues his route. He neglects not, however, to obſerve, as he rides, the mark of the Herds, he happens to ſee. Theſe diſcoveries he communicates, to the different Noguais he meets, who have the ſame purſuits, and, in his turn, receives ſuch indications as help to put an end to his journey. It is certainly to be feared that a People ſo patient may, one day, furniſh formidable Armies.

The end of our firſt day's journey was fixed for the neareſt Valley, at ten leagues diſtance. It was now near Sun-ſet, and I ſaw nothing before me but a vaſt melancholy Plain, when I ſuddenly felt my carriage deſcend, and beheld a file of Obas, or Tents, to the right and left, extending farther than I could ſee. We croſſed the Rivulet over a bad bridge, near which I found three of theſe Obas out of the line, and one

of them intended for my uſe. The Carriages were placed behind, and the Detachment took up its quarters juſt by me.

My firſt care was to examine the whole of a Picture of which my party formed a ſeparate Group. I particularly remarked the ſolitude in which we were left, and was the more aſtoniſhed at it becauſe I ſuppoſed myſelf an Object that, in ſuch a place, might well have excited Curioſity. The Mirza had left me, on our arrival, to go and demand proviſions; while I, in the mean time, examined the conſtruction of my Tartarian-Houſe. It was a large kind of Hen-coop, the paling of which was in a circular form, and over this was a Dome open at the top. A Felt of Camel-hair enveloped the whole, and a piece of this ſame Felt was thrown over the hole in the centre, which ſerved to give vent to the ſmoke. I obſerved, alſo, that the Obas, inhabited by the Tartars, and in which there was a fire kindled, had each of them this ſame piece of Felt, faſtened in form of a Banner, directed towards the Wind, and ſuſtained by a long Pole, which projected

jected out of the Oba. This Pole likewiſe ſerved to lower the Felt, and ſhut the Vent-hole, when the fire, being extinguiſhed, rendered its remaining open uſeleſs or incommodious.

I particularly admired the ſolidity and delicacy of the paling, which was connected by ſlips of raw hides; and I learnt that my Tent, deſtined for a young Bride, was a part of her marriage portion.

We were very hungry, and were glad to ſee the Mirza return with two Sheep and a Kettle, which he had procured. They ſuſpended the Kettle to the centre of three ſticks, ſet up in the form of a Pyramid; and, the kitchen thus eſtabliſhed, the Mirza, the Officer, and ſome Tartars, proceeded to kill and diſſect the Sheep; ſome filled the Kettle, while others prepared Spits to roaſt what there was not room to boil. I had taken care to bring bread with me from Kichela. This is a luxury with which the Noguais are unacquainted. Their avarice alſo forbids them the habitual uſe of meat, although they are very fond of it. My curioſity made me wiſh to know their manner of

living, and to have ſome of their Diſhes added to the good cheer they were preparing. I informed the Mirza of this whim, who ſmiled, and diſpatched a Tartar, with orders to ſatisfy my curioſity.

The man ſoon returned with a veſſel full of Mare's milk, a ſmall bag of the flour of roaſted millet, ſome white balls about as big as an egg and as hard as chalk, an iron kettle, and a young Noguai, tolerably well dreſſed, the beſt cook of the Horde. I diligently obſerved his proceedings: he firſt filled his kettle three parts full of water, putting in about two French pints; to this he added ſix ounces of his meal. His veſſel he placed near the fire, drew a ſpatula from his pocket, wiped it upon his ſleeve, and turned his liquid all one way, till it began to ſimmer. He then demanded one of his white balls (they were cheeſe made of Mare's milk, ſaturated with ſalt, and dried) broke it in ſmall bits, threw them into his Ragout, and again began to turn. His meſs thickened, he ſtill turning, though at laſt with effort, till it became of the conſiſtence of dough; he then drew away his

ſpatula, put it again in his pocket, turned the mouth of his kettle on his hand, and preſented me with a cylinder of Paſte in a ſpiral form. I was in haſte to eat of it, and was really better pleaſed with this Ragout than I had expected. I likewiſe taſted the Mare's milk, which perhaps I ſhould have found equally good, could I have diveſted myſelf of Prejudice.

While I was thus occupied concerning my ſupper, a much more intereſting Scene was preparing for exhibition. I before obſerved that the Noguais, at my arrival, retired each to his hut, without ſhewing any curioſity to ſee me; and I had pacified my Vanity on this head when I perceived a conſiderable Company advancing towards us. The order and ſlowneſs of their motions deprived us of all apprehenſions, on their parts, though we did not ſuſpect their motives for this viſit. When they were about four hundred paces diſtant they ſtopped, and one of them advancing to the Mirza, my Conductor, informed him of the deſire which the principal People of his Tribe had to ſee us; adding that, un-

willing, in the leaſt, to trouble our Repoſe, he had been deputed to aſk whether this Curioſity would give me offence; and, if not, how far they might come, without expoſing me to the leaſt Inconvenience.

I anſwered the Ambaſſador myſelf, and aſſured him they were welcome to mingle with us, for that, among Friends, there was no diſtinction of Place, much leſs a preciſe Boundary. The Noguai inſiſted on the orders he had received, and the Mirza roſe to indicate how near they might approach, to which limits this curious Company ſoon came. I did not fail to meet, in order to obſerve them the nearer, and procure myſelf the pleaſure of being acquainted with theſe good Folks. When I came within a certain diſtance, they all roſe, and the moſt remarkable of them, to whom I addreſſed myſelf, ſaluted me by taking off his Bonnet, and inclining his Body.

The ſame ceremony had been obſerved, by their Deputy, to the Mirza, at which I was the more ſurpriſed, becauſe the Turks never uncover the head, except for their

their own eaſe; and that only when they are alone, or in company with their moſt intimate Friends. It is for this reaſon that European Ambaſſadors, and their Attendants, go to the Audiences of the Grand Seignior with heads covered; for to preſent themſelves otherwiſe, before a Turk, would be a want of reſpect. I ſhall have other more important Remarks to make relative to the ſimilarity of Cuſtoms between us and the Tartars.

The little information I gained from my Noguais was owing, no doubt, to the want of aſking them proper Queſtions. The ſatisfaction, however, which Novelty always brings, made the cloſe of this day agreeable enough. I reconciled myſelf very well to my Supper; but as to my People, Tartarian Cookery owed all its ſucceſs with them to their great Hunger, which finds every thing good. They underſtood not the doctrine of amuſing themſelves with their Wants, and I was apparently the object of their Lamentations. But I perceived they only prayed for my perſonal eaſe that they might acquire the right of freely bewailing

their own individual privations. By faring as they did only could I ſilence them; and I give this Receipt to all Travellers, as the beſt they can follow.

However intereſting my Noguais might be, eager to abridge my ſtay amongſt them, and ſleep the ſecond night in the next Valley, I departed very early, and ſaw the Sun appear in the Horizon, on theſe Plains, as Navigators do at Sea. We diſcovered nothing during this morning, except ſome Hillocs ſimilar to thoſe ſeen in many parts of Flanders, and eſpecially in Brabant, concerning which the common opinion is, they have been formed by the hand of man, and the union of thoſe ſods which each Soldier antiently carried to raiſe a Mauſoleum over the corpſe of his dead General. A great number of theſe Hillocs are likewiſe ſeen in Thrace, where, as well as in Tartary, Brabant, and all other places where they are found, they are never ſingle. This quantity of dead Generals, inhumed nearly at equal diſtances, and always in a relative poſition, which ſeems rather to indicate intention than the meer effect of Chance, occaſioned

ſioned me to ſearch, in actual cuſtoms, the real cauſe of the formation of theſe pretended Mauſoleums. Apparently to me the motive may be found in the uſage which the Turks ſtill have, when they go to war, of pointing out the Route the Army ought to follow by Hillocs placed in ſight of each other. Theſe Elevations, it is true, are leſs than thoſe I have juſt mentioned, and which have withſtood the action of Ages on the ſurface of the Earth. But may it not be added that, in thoſe caſes when the Hillocs of the Antients were only intended to mark their route, and thus inſure their communication, the ſpirit of Conqueſt, which made them penetrate unknown countries, muſt alſo make them deſirous of preſerving, from a too eaſy deſtruction, theſe Land-marks?

As to the bones, ſometimes found in them, they are only a proof that they occaſionally ſerved as Sepulchres to the Generals and Soldiers who died on the march; but moſt of them which have been dug into in Flanders have proved they did not all ſerve this purpoſe; and, if we ſhould be brought to conſider them in the light I have

have hinted, this Hypotheſis may give an explication of the labours which Xenophon ſpeaks of, in his Retreat of the Ten Thouſand. A country unknown muſt, every moment, preſent the Greeks with obſtacles more difficult to vanquiſh, and ſnares more to be feared, than the Nations they had to intimidate or repel.

I ſaw no appearance of Culture on my route, becauſe the Noguais avoid the cultivation of frequented places. Their harveſt by the ſides of roads would ſerve only as paſture to Travellers horſes. But, if this precaution preſerve them from ſuch kind of depredation, nothing can protect their fields from a much more fatal ſcourge. Clouds of Locuſts frequently alight on their Plains, and, giving the preference to their Fields of Millet, ravage them in an inſtant. Their approach darkens the horizon, and, ſo enormous is their multitude, it hides the light of the Sun. When the Huſbandmen happen to be ſufficiently numerous, they, ſometimes, divert the ſtorm, by their agitation and their cries; but, when theſe fail, the Locuſts alight on their Fields,

Fields, and there form a bed of ſix or ſeven inches thick. To the noiſe of their flight ſucceeds that of their devouring activity; it reſembles the rattling of hail-ſtones, but its conſequences are infinitely more deſtructive. Fire itſelf eats not ſo faſt, nor is there a veſtige of vegetation to be found, when they again take their flight, and go elſewhere to produce like diſaſters.

This plague, no doubt, would ſpread over countries better cultivated; and Greece and Aſia Minor would be more frequently expoſed, did not the Black Sea ſwallow up moſt of thoſe ſwarms which attempt to paſs that Barrier.

I have often ſeen the ſhores of the Pontus-Euxinus, towards the Boſphorus of Thrace, covered with their dried remains, in ſuch multitudes that one could not walk along the ſtrand without ſinking half-leg deep into a bed of theſe ſkinny ſkeletons. Curious to know the true cauſe of their deſtruction, I ſought the moment of obſervation, and was a witneſs of their ruin by a ſtorm, which overtook them ſo near the ſhore that their bodies were caſt upon the land,

land, while yet entire. This produced an Infection ſo great that it was ſeveral days before they could be approached.

We arrived before noon at the Valley; and, while the Mirza enquired for thoſe whoſe office it was to procure us freſh horſes, I approached a group of Noguais aſſembled round a dead horſe they had juſt ſkinned. A young man about eighteen, who was naked, had the Hide of the animal thrown over his ſhoulders. A woman, who performed the office of Taylor, with great dexterity, then began by cutting the back of this new dreſs, following with her ſciſſars the round of the neck, the fall of the ſhoulders, the ſemi-circle which formed the ſleeve, and the ſide of the habit which was intended to reach below the knee. There was no neceſſity to ſuſtain a kind of ſtuff which, by its humidity, naturally adhered to the ſkin of the Youth. The female Leather-cutter proceeded, with equal eaſe, to form the two fore flaps, and the cuffs; which operation ended, our almoſt-man, who ſerved as a mould, crouched on his hams, while the pieces were ſtitched together;

ther; ſo that, in leſs than two hours, he had a good brown-bay coat, which only wanted to be tanned by continual exerciſe. This ſeemed to be his firſt care; for I ſaw him leap lightly on the bare back of a Horſe, to go and join his Companions, who were buſy in collecting the Horſes we wanted, and of which we had not yet enough by far.

We have already ſeen that the Tartar-Horſes are left to wander over the Plains in companies, and diſtinguiſhed by the Proprietor's mark, but each Individual is obliged to contribute to the Public Service. There is, therefore, a certain number appropriated to the Uſe of the Community, and kept within ſight of their habitations. As theſe animals run free, they are not eaſy to catch; and the choice neceſſary to furniſh ſaddle and draft horſes from among them adds to the difficulty. In this the Noguais ſucceeded by a method which, at once, gives their Youth, always deſtined to this kind of chace, an opportunity of becoming the moſt intrepid and the moſt adroit Horſemen in the World. To effect this they take a long pole,

to

to the end of which they faſten a cord, that terminates in a loop paſſed through the pole, and ſo form a running nooſe, wide enough to receive the head of a horſe. Furniſhed with this inſtrument, the young Noguais mount their horſes, without a ſaddle, make a bridle of the halter, by twiſting it round the under jaw, ride to the herd, pick out the horſe they want, purſue him with vaſt agility, come up with him, notwithſtanding his tricks and turnings, in which he ſhews infinite addreſs, and, ſeizing the inſtant when the end of the pole is beyond the head of the horſe, ſlip it over his ears, tighten the knot, ſlacken their courſe, and thus retain their Priſoner, which they bring to the general Receptacle.

As I wanted near eighty horſes, and there were not above half a dozen young Jockies employed in this buſineſs, it laſted long enough to let me enjoy it fully; but our ſupply was ſo well choſen that we arrived in good time at the ſuburbs of Oczakow.

This Fortreſs, where we lodged, ſituated on the right ſhore, near the mouth of the Boriſthenes, occupies a ſmall declivity, which

which leads to the river. A Foſſe and Covered-way are the ſole works which defend the place. It has the form of a parallelogram, inclined length-ways; and here may be ſeen, as well as at Bendar and Kotchim, a numerous artillery, each piece of which, ill-mounted, is enfolded by two enormous Gabions, which, ſerving for Merlons, form the Embraſure.

There is an Inn, kept by ſome Jews, in the ſuburbs of Oczakow. This was of great ſervice to us in renewing our travelling ſtores, and enabling us to traverſe the plains of Dgamboylook, inhabited likewiſe by the Noguais. Our next morning was employed in croſſing the Boriſthenes, which river is confined and narrow towards its mouth, by a projection of land on the oppoſite ſhore, called Kilboornoo, by and within which a kind of Lake is formed, lengthened towards the north, whence the River deſcends. Its width is more than two leagues from Oczakow, to the oppoſite Fort, ſituated on the ſandy point; in which direction we paſſed the Boriſthenes. The Veſſels uſed on theſe occaſions carry ſail when the wind is favourable, and are puſhed alſo with boat-hooks,

owing to the ſhallowneſs of the water, which is never too deep to make uſe of them, except only for a few fathoms towards the middle.

After three hours of this tireſome navigation, during which we had no variety, except by the bounding of a few Dolphins, we landed at Kilboornoo, oppoſite the Caſtle. The diſembarking of the carriages, and the collecting the horſes we wanted, occupied my Conductors the reſt of the day, which I employed in viſiting the Caſtle, which afforded nothing remarkable, except its inutility. Its artillery, deſtined to co-operate with that of Oczakow, in defending the River, could not ſend its fire to a ſufficient diſtance, but muſt always permit an entrance through the middle. I obſerved that batteries ſituated at Kilboornoo point, and others on a rock of the oppoſite ſhore, would conſtantly ſecure the paſſage againſt every kind of veſſel; but this calculation at preſent is beyond the Turks, and I ſhall have more important occaſions of determining hereafter how bounded they are in military Science.

It was agreed we ſhould begin our journey an hour before Day-break, and I took up my reſidence in a Cart, diſpoſed couch-wiſe, in order to prolong the Repoſe of which I began to ſtand in need. The Commander of our Eſcort was ignorant of this change; and, after having ranged his men, as already explained, he accompanied my Berlin, aſſiduouſly, till the return of day ſhowed him I was not there, when he loudly complained of the want of care taken to inform him of the Carriage in which I had placed myſelf, and came immediately to guard it with his little Troop, appropriated to that ſervice. This circumſtance is only related becauſe it characterizes the Manners of the Tartars, and ſtrongly preſents the ſeeds of good Order.

Our route brought us to the ſhores of the Black Sea, the ſtrand of which we occaſionally touched upon, while the mere noiſe of its Waves afforded us an intereſting object, not to be found in the continued ſameneſs of the Plains we had hitherto traverſed. Thoſe we had to paſs were equally naked, though I was aſſured they were anciently covered with Foreſts, which the Noguais

had torn up, root and branch, to be free from all ſurprize and ambuſcade. Though this precaution may preſerve a people ſo removable that in leſs than two hours they can decamp, it has certainly deprived them of the firing which the Climate requires. It is for this reaſon that each Family carefully collects the dung of its Cattle, which they knead up with a little ſandy earth, and thus make a kind of Turf, that rather may be ſaid to ſmoak than to warm theſe Tartars.

No people are more abſtemious; Millet and Mare's milk are their habitual food, and yet they are exceedingly Carniverous. A Noguais might wager that he would eat a whole Sheep, and gain his bet, without danger of Indigeſtion. But their Appetites are reſtrained by their Avarice, which is ſo great that they generally debar themſelves of every thing they can ſell. If any accident kill one of their Cattle, they then, only, regale upon his fleſh; and this not unleſs they find it time enough to bleed the dead Animal. They follow this Precept of Mahomet, likewiſe, with reſpect to Beaſts that are diſtempered; they carefully obſerve each ſtage of

of the diſeaſe, that they may ſeize the moment when, their Avarice condemned to loſe the value of the Beaſt, their Appetite may ſtill afford them ſome conſolation, by killing it an inſtant before its natural death.

The fairs of Balta, and others eſtabliſhed on their Frontiers, are the Emporiums to which they annually bring their immenſe Flocks and Herds. The Corn they grow, in ſuch abundance, finds a ready vent by the Black Sea, as well as their Fleeces, whether they conſiſt of the whole produce of their Flocks or only the Pelades (*r*). To theſe objects of Commerce are added ſome bad Hides, and great quantities of Hare-ſkins.

Theſe different Articles, united, annually procure the Tartars conſiderable ſums, which they only receive in ducats of gold, Dutch or Venetian; but the uſe they make of theſe annihilates every idea of wealth, which ſuch numerical Enormity preſents.

(*r*) Pelades are thoſe Fleeces which are ſeparated from the ſkin by the help of Lime, which operation cannot be performed on the live Animal; it procures the greateſt Quantity of Wool poſſible, but it injures the Quality.

Conſtantly augmenting, without turning any part of their ſtore into circulation, Avarice ſeizes and engluts theſe Treaſures, while the Plains in which they are buried afford not the leaſt indication or guide to future Reſearch. The numerous Noguais who have died, without telling their ſecret, have already occaſioned the loſs of vaſt Sums; hence it may be preſumed theſe People are perſuaded that, were they forced to abandon their Country, they might leave their Money without loſing their Property. In fact it would be the ſame to them if five hundred leagues diſtant, ſince they only poſſeſs it in Idea; but this Idea is ſo powerful among them, and ſo delightful, that a Tartar is frequently known to ſeize the Object he covets for the ſole pleaſure of enjoying it a Moment. Soon obliged to reſtore it, he is likewiſe obliged to pay a conſiderable Fine; but he has had his Wiſh, and is ſatisfied. The avarice of a Tartar never ſtays to calculate eventual Loſs, but enjoys the momentary Gain.

We drew near to Orcapi, and had only one more bad night to paſs, when a Courier came

came to meet me, charged by order of the Cham to procure me ſuch conveniencies as I had had the good fortune to procure myſelf.

We paſſed the night in a bad Barrack, covered with Reeds, the only production of theſe Marſhes on the Sea-coaſt. The next morning we followed the Strand, and ſoon came in ſight of the weſtern coaſt of the Peninſula, which extended into the ſea on our right. This Land was equally flat but higher than the Plain on which we were, and was united to it by a gentle declivity, which appeared almoſt level; the moſt elevated part of which preſented a profile of the Lines of Orcapi. We arrived in tolerable good time, and paſſed the Moat over a bad Wooden-bridge, that joins the Counterſcarp to a vaulted Gate, at the entrance of the Plat-form, the Porter of which, every night, kept the Peninſula under lock and key.

One of the Redoubts, which interſects the Lines that are within the reach of the Canon, is built of ſtone; and this, by being furniſhed with Artillery, and ſome Turkiſh Soldiers, who trade with the Ruſſians and

Tartars, has occaſioned them to build a paltry Village near this Gate. Here I alighted, and found my quarters ready prepared. The Commander of the Citadel ſoon ſent to compliment me on my arrival, preſenting me, at the ſame time, with a diſh of Mutton, roaſted after the Turkiſh manner, which they call Orman Kaibab (*s*). I received alſo a Deputation from the Janiſſaries of the Fort, who invited me to enrol my name in their Company; which offer I was as eager to accept as they were to take the cuſtomary Preſent of my welcome.

The Corps of Janiſſaries, originally compoſed of Chriſtians, made ſlaves of war by the Turks, has long been recruited by tributary Children. The Privileges granted them determined the Turks to have their Children enrolled; till, the abuſe of theſe Privileges, and the number of Pretenders increaſing with each other, there was no longer any ſecurity but under the protection of this Body. The Nobility were enrolled,

(*s*) Orman Kaibab, or the Wood-Roaſt, is a favourite diſh among the Turks. It conſiſts of ſlices of Mutton and of Onions, ſtuck alternately on ſkewers, and roaſted before a quick fire.

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nay, the Grand Seignior himſelf; while no one perceived that thus to flatter was but to increaſe their Inſolence. Eſtabliſhed Rules long ſuſtained this Corps in ſpite of its own Diſorders; but at length it has ceaſed to ſupport its individual Independance. Each Janiſſary having, by perſonal Intereſt, become accountable to general Order, this Corps is now no longer the terror of its Maſters.

While I was thus occupied, I ſaw a Company of Europeans appear, conducted by the Tartars of the Plain; they were Germans, who had fled from Ruſſia, and had been ſeized by the Noguais. Their miſerable ſituation led me to reclaim them, and they were inſtantly given up. To them I abandoned my Pyramid of roaſt Mutton, of which they, no doubt, had more need than I. On examination, I found my new Colony conſiſted of ſeven Men, five Women, and four Children. Miſery had overwhelmed them; but they began to ſmile at the Hope of Futurity.

Theſe poor People were Natives of the Palatinate, and had been drawn into Ruſſia in expectation of bettering their fortune,

the uſual cauſe of emigration; but in which the Emigrants are generally deceived, and ſoon have reaſon to regret their native home. Shut up in a ſtrange Country, they thought of nothing but Flight, and knew no other route than that which beſt might facilitate their Eſcape. Arrived on the Plains of Tartary, ſcarcely did they breathe in liberty ere the Noguais ſeized and meant to ſell them to the firſt Purchaſer. Happy was I that I could protect theſe Wretches, and I took proper meaſures for their ſafe arrival at Bactcheſeray.

I employed the reſt of the day in viſiting the Fortifications of Orcapi. Nothing can have a Grander Effect, and, except that the works are ſomewhat gigantic, I know no place where Nature has better been ſeconded by Art. The ſolidity, likewiſe, of the Entrenchment may be warranted: it interſects the Iſthmus three quarters of a league in extent; two Seas ſerve it for Epaulment; it overlooks the Plain beneath about the height of forty feet, and will long reſiſt the utter negligence of Ignorance. No marks indicate the Time of its Conſtruction, but

every thing proves it anterior to the Tartars, or, that they were formerly better inſtructed than they are at preſent. It is no leſs evident that, were the Lines palliſadoed in Fauſſe-Brais, as well as the Redoubts which interſect them, and furniſhed with Artillery, eſpecially with Howitzes, this Fortification would aſcertain the free poſſeſſion of the Crimea, againſt an Army of a hundred thouſand men. Such an army, unable to force the lines by aſſault, would ſoon be obliged for want of water to ſeek their ſafety in Retreat. The Ruſſians, in the laſt war, could only penetrate the Crimea by paſſing a ſmall marſhy arm of the Sea, and gaining the point of a very narrow Neck of Land, which runs parallel to the Eaſtern-coaſt. The ſame Route had before been ſucceſsfully attempted in the Campaigns of 1736 and 1737, by General Munick; yet this could not inſpire the Tartars either with the means or the deſire to hereafter preſerve themſelves from a like Misfortune; by defending the extremity of that Neck of Land where the leaſt reſiſtance muſt have ſtopped the Enemy's March.

Leaving

Leaving Orcapi, I obſerved the road, along which we travelled, was covered with a whitiſh Cruſt, occaſioned by the tranſportation of the ſalt which the Tartars ſell the Ruſſians. The Salt-pits of Orcapi, making part of the Sovereign Domain, are farmed out, either to Armenians or Jews, and theſe two commercial Nations, always endeavouring to rival each other, mutually raiſe the produce of the tax by this conteſt. They are equally unſkilful in managing their Works to the beſt Advantage; and their Avarice is always the dupe of their Ignorance. They have no Sheds to receive, dry, and preſerve the natural Salt, formed in the Salt-lakes. Hence, the abundance of one Year cannot compenſate the deficiencies of another; when the Rains often waſh away a Produce ſo rich and ſo eaſy to ſtow in ſafety. Buyer and Seller ſeem both to have concurred in framing the fooliſh Conditions by which they are reciprocally bound: by theſe, the Buyer is permitted to come, himſelf, and drain Salt enough, from the Lake, to load his Carts, at the price ſtipulated, which are to be drawn by a cer-

a certain number of horſes; if his overloaded Cart ſhould break down, before it arrive at a certain diſtance, he is condemned to Confiſcation, and a Fine (K). Buyer and Seller have not perceived that what was ſpilt upon the road was loſt to both; and that continual Litigation could never prove the Baſis of an advantageous Commerce.

Having paſſed the Salt-works we came to a Country rather fertile than well cultivated, and the number of Villages, ſcattered over the Plain, made it the more pleaſing becauſe it was long ſince we had enjoyed ſuch a Proſpect. About evening we arrived at a habitation ſituated in the bottom of a Valley, the Rocks round which announced a new Soil; and the next morning we beheld a hilly Country, through which we paſſed. At noon the fore wheels of my Carriage were obliged to be locked, in order to deſcend a very narrow road cut in the rock, which led to Bactcheſeray. I arrived in this Town ſoon enough to perceive, in its full extent, the various Conveniencies I muſt hereafter renounce. The Sieur Fornetty, French Conſul to the Cham of the Tartars, received me

me in the Houſe he had ten years occupied, and in which I was to reſide. The diſtribution of the apartments was not favourable to the increaſe of Inhabitants I brought, which was very ſenſibly felt by my people. Fatigued by a long journey, the ſtrange aſpect of this Promiſed Land did but increaſe their Deſpondency; and, I muſt own that, this new Habitation did not ſeem to offer a ſufficient recompenſe for the nine hundred and thirty Leagues we had travelled to come to it. An open ſtair-caſe of wood, the ſtairs of which, grown rotten with rain, bent beneath the weight of every ſtep, conducted the moſt light-of-foot to one ſole Floor, compoſed of a Hall, and two ſide Chambers, which ſerved for a Parlour and Bed-room. The Cieling and Walls, which had formerly been plaiſtered, left room to ſee the whole conſtruction of the Building. It was matter of deliberation whether the floor would ſupport the weight of my Trunks; we hazarded the trial, however, with ſucceſs, and, things naturally falling into a kind of order, each ſoon choſe a place, where he might reſt from his Labours.

If

If the variety of Objects, which ſucceed each other on the road, only permit the Traveller to think of the Obſtacles he muſt ſurmount, to arrive at his Journey's end, his Arrival naturally leads him to examine his Poſition, when this is accompliſhed; and ſuch was our occupation the next morning.

The proofs I had already had of M. Couſtillier, who accompanied me, in quality of Secretary, were ſufficient to aſſure me that his Gentleneſs and Patience would be ſuperior to preſent Inconveniencies; nor was I leſs happy in the choice which M. de Vergennes had made of my Secretary-Interpreter, M. Ruffin; and the intimacy of theſe two young men, while it animated their gaiety, ſoon made their ſociety very agreeable. I had, indeed, no other; for I could not flatter myſelf that a Monk, whom I had taken up at Yaſſi, and two Poliſh Armenian Miſſionaries, would afford me much amuſement, any more than the Sieur Fornetty, who was to quit me, and return to Conſtantinople, as ſoon as the local knowledge

knowledge he had acquired became no longer neceſſary.

My arrival had been immediately announced to the Viſir of the Cham, and this firſt Miniſter aſſured me of the ſatisfaction his Maſter would receive as ſoon as I ſhould be ready for an audience; he likewiſe ſent me an account of the Tayn, which had been aſſigned me by the Prince. This cuſtom conſiſts in furniſhing ſuch Proviſions as are judged neceſſary for the conſumption of thoſe to whom it is granted. Through all the Eaſt to give is to honour; and, forced to ſubmit to this kind of reſpect, I applied my Tayn to the ſubſiſtence of my little German Colony. But, while this was abundantly ſufficient for their uſe, my people had but few means of providing ſubſiſtence for our own Family. Bad Bread, Rice, Mutton and lean Poultry, were all we could get; and we were in danger of keeping a very poor Table. I could not conceive how the fineſt Soil in the World, and the neighbourhood of the Sea, ſhould yet leave me without Butter, Vegetables, and Fiſh. I ſoon learned that Celery was reared in the Garden

of the Cham, as an uncommon Plant; that the Tartars knew not how to make Butter; and that the Inhabitants of the Sea-coaſts were as bad Sailors as thoſe of the Plains. Reſignation was my only Remedy (L).

My people afterwards diſcovered a few wild Vegetables, which gave us ſome conſolation; and I contrived to ſend for ſome Seed from Conſtantinople, that we might cultivate others ourſelves. For this purpoſe I hired a Country-houſe, ſent my Germans thither, and gave them Cows, and my new Farm ſoon furniſhed me with every thing in abundance. We made our own Bread, likewiſe; one of my people became an excellent Baker, and we had the additional pleaſure of creating, ourſelves, the means of obtaining the good Cheer we enjoyed.

I waited for ſome Preſents, not yet arrived, neceſſary for my firſt Audience; but the impatience of Mackſood-Guery, then on the Throne of the Tartars, removed every Impediment. The day being fixed for delivering my Letters of Credence, the Maſter of the Ceremonies attended me, with a detachment of the Guards, and ſome Officers,

who

who were to accompany me to the Palace. Our Cavalcade, half European half Tartar, drew a great Concourſe of People. We alighted in the inner Court, and the Viſir, who waited for me in the Veſtibule, conducted me to the Hall of Audience, where we found the Cham ſitting in the corner of a Sofa, oppoſite which was a great Chair, in which I ſat down, after having complimented the Prince, and delivered my Credentials. This Ceremony, which inſtalled me in my Office, was followed by various others in uſe among the Turks, and by an invitation from the Cham himſelf to viſit him frequently; after which I was re-conducted home, in the ſame order. Several days following were employed in official Viſits, and I was aſſiduous in forming Connections, from the deſire I had to know the Cuſtoms, Manners, and Government of the Tartars. The Mufti, a man of underſtanding, loyal, and ſuſceptible of Friendſhip, was one of thoſe with whom I became moſt intimate, and from whom I obtained moſt information.

After paying my firſt attentions to theſe Objects, I thought it neceſſary to guard myſelf

ſelf from the intemperance of the ſeaſons before Winter ſhould come, and aſſail me in my Barrack. To augment and repair was much the ſame as to rebuild; and, it being then the month of November, there was not a moment to loſe. I made the Deſigns, got Materials together, overlooked the Workmen, and, without departing from the method of the Tartars, had a tolerable Habitation before the end of December, at about two hundred and fifty pounds expence. This ſeems the proper place to examine the conſtruction of the Houſes in the Crimea; and the following particulars, relative to Tartarian Architecture, will be more uſeful to thoſe who are intereſted in rural œconomy than to the Diſciples of Vitruvius.

Pillars, placed on the points which determine the Angles and Openings, kept in a perpendicular poſition by a Beam, on which Uprights are fixed, form the firſt Plan, and are diſpoſed ſo as to receive and ſupport the Roof. This accompliſhed, other perpendicular Pillars, but ſmaller, at twelve-inch intervals, are erected, round

which hazel twigs are twiſted in the manner of Baſket-work. This kind of Wicker-work they fill with mud mixed with cut ſtraw, which they plaiſter with hair-mortar within and without; and the whole, white-waſhed and painted on the pillars, baſes, doors, and windows, gives the Building an agreeable aſpect.

This manner of erecting, I obſerved, is infinitely more ſolid than it appears to be in deſcription, and is certainly more healthy than the mode of building among our French Peaſants. I am likewiſe well convinced that Land-holders, who wiſh, either from intereſt or benevolence, to build Cottages, in hope of favouring and augmenting Population, would every way be gainers by adopting this new method of conſtruction. The expence is ſmall, and they would thus give each Cottager the means of eaſily repairing his own Habitation; which latter appears to me, indeed, the moſt important advantage. After having provided myſelf a tolerable Dwelling, and in a ſhort ſpace of time, my next care was to procure Furniture. My Maitre-d'Hotel was an Up-

holſterer, and I myſelf became Joiner, Turner, and White-ſmith. Theſe different occupations, with the Duties of my ſtation, and my Viſits to the Cham, afforded full and various Employment to my whole time.

Mackſood-Gueray had admitted me to his private Parties: theſe were compoſed of the Sultan Nooradin, his Nephew; of a Mirza of the Chirins (*t*) named Kaya-Mirza (*u*), huſband to the Sultana, couſin-german to the Cham; of the Kadi-Leſker; and of ſome other Mirzas, favourites with Mackſood. The Prince uſed to receive us after the Prayer at Sun-ſetting, and kept us till Midnight. Suſpicious rather from Syſtem than from character, Mackſood-Gueray, quick to anticipate Evil, was equally ready to embrace every thing which could give eaſe to his mind, or make the objects agreeable by which he was ſurrounded. With more knowledge than the Orientals uſually

(*t*) Chirin is the name of the Family moſt diſtinguiſhed among thoſe who compoſe the firſt order of Tartarian Nobility; and it will be ſeen, in the ſequel, that eſtabliſhed Rules eternally exclude the new-made Nobility from that Claſs.

(*u*) Kaya, ſignifies a Rock.

poſſeſs, he loved and willingly converſed on Literature. The Sultan Nooradin, educated in Circaſſia, ſpoke little, and only of the Circaſſians: the Kadi-Leſker, on the contrary, ſpoke much, and of every thing. With little Knowledge, but great Vivacity, he often forgot the gravity of his Situation for the pleaſure of enlivening our Society. Kaya Mirza brought us the news of the day, while I ſupplied that of Europe, and anſwered to their queſtions, which were inceſſant.

The Etiquette of that Court permits few perſons to be ſeated in the Sovereign Preſence. The Sultans enjoy this privilege by birth, except the children of the Sovereign, who, out of Parental Reſpect, are not allowed to ſit. This indulgence is granted alſo to the heads of the Law, the miniſters of the Divan, and from foreign Courts; but, Kaya-Mirza excepted, who, being the Huſband of a Sultana, had a right to be ſeated, the other Courtiers remained ſtanding, at the foot of the Sofa, and retired at Supper-time. This was ſerved on two round Tables, the one appropriated to the Cham, at

which his Tartarian Majeſty uſually eat by himſelf, except when ſome Sultan, diſtinguiſhed for his age or power, happened to be preſent; and the other, in the ſame chamber, was for the uſe of ſuch perſons as the Cham admitted to his Supper.

I eat at the latter, with the Kadi-Leſker and Kaya-Mirza. Mackſood-Gueray took a delight in encouraging the litle diſputes which continually aroſe between me and the Judge, and in which this Magiſtrate appeared much leſs actuated by the love of Truth than the deſire of amuſing his Maſter. Our ſituations were ſo different that we could not both obtain his favour by the ſame means, though I neglected no opportunity of ingratiating myſelf with this Prince. I had obſerved he was fond of Fire-works, and that his Artificers were ignorant, I therefore prepared utenſils and materials, and inſtructed my own people; and, when I found myſelf able to accompliſh my purpoſe, I aſked the Cham's permiſſion to give him this kind of entertainment on his Birth-day. He had been only uſed to ſee ſmoaky Wheat-ſheafs, good for

nothing Crackers, and ſmall ill managed Sky-rockets, and my ſucceſs was very great.

I had foreſeen that the Cham, after thanking me for the Saltpetre I had burnt, would obligingly complain it was too ſoon over, and, by way of anſwer, I had prepared ſome Electrical-Experiments, which I propoſed to ſhew him as a kind of chamber Fire-works, that might amuſe us for the reſt of the evening. So great was the effect of the Electrical-Phænomena at firſt, that I had much difficulty in eraſing the ſuſpicion of Magic, which began to take root in their minds, and to which every new experiment gave additional ſtrength. The Cham, however, appeared to underſtand me, and would himſelf be electrified. The Shock I gave him was moderate, but I treated his Courtiers ſo as to merit the approbation of their Maſter.

The next day the City reſounded with the Miracles I had performed, and I was obliged to ſatisfy the curioſity of thoſe who had not been preſent, at the Exhibition before the Cham, the following days. Several perſons came ſucceſſively to entreat a re-

a repetition of my experiments on them and their friends, all of whom I ſent away in equal Aſtoniſhment; and, each of them vaunting the Wonders of Electricity, I found their numbers increaſe.

I began to tire of my Fame and its inconveniences, and was complaining in the evening to M. Ruffin, who was as weary of it as myſelf, when we ſaw twenty Lanthorns appear, and which, extending in a line, ſtopped before my door. I immediately ſent M. Ruffin to enquire the reaſon of this, when he was thus addreſſed by the perſon who ſtood forth as Orator on this occaſion:—We, Sir, are Circaſſian Mirzas, in hoſtage to the Cham; we have heard of the Miracles your Bey (*) performs whenever he pleaſes! Miracles ſuch as never were conceived from the birth of the Prophet till this day, and which will be unknown to men when he is dead! Intreat him to permit us to become ſpecta-

(*) Bey, is a title given to perſons of diſtinction. It is much the ſame as Lord, though it ſometimes means a Prince, as the Bey of Walachia, and the Bey of Moldavia.

tors of them, that we may one day bear teſtimony of their Truth in our own Country, and that Circaſſia, though deprived of theſe Prodigies, may yet preſerve their Memory in her Annals!

The Gravity with which M. Ruffin repeated this Harangue to me, preſerved its poignancy. My new Gueſts were ſhewn into the Hall, where, after arranging themſelves in a Semi-circle, with all the reſpect and importance of myſtic Devotion, the Circaſſian Orator addreſſed me in the ſame terms he had before accoſted my Interpreter. I heard his Speech, with as ſerious an air as I poſſibly could, and, in my turn, complimented all Circaſſia; after which I prepared to impreſs the powers of Electricity ſtrongly on their memories, while M. Ruffin, in making them the cuſtomary Compliments, amuſed himſelf by ſtrengthening the opinion they had of the Prodigies they were ſoon to behold.

It may eaſily be imagined that, thus diſpoſed, I had my choice of Victims, ſince each Spectator wiſhed to take his turn, and theſe poor Sufferers, whom I ſometimes pitied,

pitied, laughed, as if they were in Heaven, while they ſuffered like Martyrs. Nor was it till after they had endured the rudeſt Proofs, that I had the happineſs to ſend my Circaſſians away fully ſatisfied. But they were the laſt I electrified, and I endeavoured to procure myſelf Recreations leſs glorious, but more uſeful.

The Uniform I conſtantly wore menaced total decay, and I became my own Taylor. I wiſhed likewiſe to equip a handſome Arabian Horſe, after the French Faſhion. I could not put a Tartar-ſaddle on him, the form of which keeps the horſeman too far from the horſe; and this was no trifling undertaking. I was obliged to begin by making Tools; I next prepared my Saddle-bows, then put the various materials together, and at length finiſhed a Saddle of crimſon velvet, with Houſings, and every thing tolerably complete; and of this I made uſe the firſt time I rode out with the Cham.

This Prince had the goodneſs to admit me of all his Parties, and I was glad to have an opportunity of giving him ſome idea

idea of French-Horſemanſhip. The ſole principle the Tartars know is to ſit firm in the ſeat, which they carry to a degree of rough Inelegance. The whole Court, therefore, was aſtoniſhed, at the ſupple motions and paces of my Arabian. The Prince's firſt Groom wiſhed to get on him, but ſcarcely was he ſeated on my ſmooth ſaddle before he was obliged to claſp the Horſe's ſides, with his heels and knees, that he might keep himſelf on. My Arabian, little uſed to ſuch a Horſeman, was preparing to rid himſelf of the inconvenience; but the Tartar's ſervants ran to his aſſiſtance, and prevented the Cataſtrophe.

The Cham invited me to all his parties of hunting, hawking, and courſing, which were frequent. He uſed to be accompanied by five or ſix hundred Horſemen; and thus did he beat up the neighbouring Plains, where the abundance of Game, added to the eagerneſs of the Hunters, made the Chaſe very ſpirited. Mackſood-Gueray was particularly fond of hawking; his Birds were perfectly well-taught, and he wanted nothing but good Dogs to ſtart the Game.

I had

I had brought a Pointer from France of remarkable Beauty, but he was ſo much careſſed, ſpoilt, and ſelf-willed, that I never took him with me, which made them ſuppoſe him the more valuable. The Courtiers ſpoke of him to the Prince, who teſtified a deſire to have him, and even affected to reproach me, becauſe I had kept him thus long concealed.

In vain did I object, my Dog was ill diſciplined, that he would infallibly purſue his Hawks, and that ſome Miſchance would be the Conſequence. This was all underſtood as Fineſſe, and I was obliged to give way to the Cham's whim, of which he had ſoon occaſion to repent. I immediately ſent for my Dog, and in he came with his uſual familiarity. In the middle of the apartment was a Fountain; here Diamond bathed himſelf, then leapt on the Sofa, to careſs me; and, underſtanding the laugh of the Cham as a friendly invitation, ſprang merrily upon him, and overthrew every thing that ſtood in his way. In the firſt moments of favour Errors are overlooked. Diamond was recommended to a Page,

ſupped

ſupped the ſame evening at Court, and a grand Hunting-party was ordered on the morrow. Nothing was heard over night but the great Talents of this new Favourite: for my part, I ſpoke of his diſobedience and vivacity, but every thing he did was charming, and the Cham was ſo impatient to ſee Diamond in action that he appointed us to meet, in the morning, ſooner than ordinary.

When I joined the Hunt, I ſaw the Hero of the day led by his Page, terrified and encircled with Spectators, who were waiting for me to have him ſet at liberty. This was no ſooner done than the Horſemen opened to the right and left of the Cham, by whoſe ſide I remained, and the clattering of hoofs ſo terrified Diamond that, at firſt, he had no other ſenſations but the fear of being trampled to death. At length a Quail was ſtarted, and one of the Cham's Falcons was let fly in purſuit of the Game. The Bird joined and ſeized his Prey, and, flying to ſome diſtance, a Falconer ran with all ſpeed to take it from him. Diamond likewiſe ſprang forward with all his might; the

double

double capture of the Falcon and the Quail animated his Ambition, and, had not a Poll-axe been launched at him to make him quit his prize, my Prediction would have been fulfilled. Fear ſeized both the Dog and the Falcon; each by different routes took the road home, and the Cham paid for his Experiment by the fear of loſing his Bird.

The manner in which I was treated by Mackſood-Gueray and his Miniſters, added to the arrangements I had made in my new eſtabliſhment, rendered living at Bactcheſeray ſupportable. I was particularly intimate with Kaya-Mirza, of the family of the Chirins, ſaid to be the firſt of the Tartarian Nobility. He had married a Princeſs of the Blood, who enjoyed the poſt of Oloo-Kanai (Governeſs of the Crimea) (M) and this Sultana, wiſhing to ſhew me a mark of favour and reſpect, ſent the Superintendant of her Houſehold with a preſent of a Night-ſhirt, richly embroidered, and every thing complete for a Diſhabille. The air of Myſtery which accompanied this miſſion gave me ſome inquietude—the Princeſs was ſeventy years of age. But I was ſoon releaſed from

from my Fears: I learnt that preſents of this kind are ſeldom made by a Sultana, except to a Relation, and found there was no danger in paying my grateful acknowledgements. This Princeſs had ſome credit with Mackſood-Gueray, but not ſufficient to preſerve a Perſon whom ſhe patronized from the avarice of that Prince.

Yacoub-Aga, Governor, and High Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms of Balta, was to be the Victim of his Avidity. Diſpoſſeſſed of his Poſt, robbed of his Wealth, and chained in Priſon, he ran ſtill the further riſk of loſing his Head, notwithſtanding the zeal of his Protectreſs. The endeavour to ſave and re-eſtabliſh this man, who had always been favourable to the intereſts of France, appeared to me important. The Miniſters ſeconded my efforts, the Mufti entered warmly into the cauſe, as well as the Sultana, and Yacoub-Aga quitted his Chains, and betook him, again, to his former Dignity and Employ, in order, once more, to begin making a Fortune which the Cham refuſed to reſtore.

But,

But, though the Prince might be reproached with this act of avidity, he, certainly, watched carefully over the State, without adopting the fanatic and superstitious Principles which so often lead the Turks astray. The Slave of a Jew had assassinated his Master, in his Vineyard, and complaint was laid, by his nearest of Kin. The Culprit was seized, and, during his trial, some zealous Mahometans determined to make him a Turk; in hopes to obtain his pardon. The Cham pronounced sentence of Death, and the Murderer's Conversion was pleaded. It is necessary to remark that the Laws of Tartary ordain the Criminal to be punished by the hand of him he has offended, or by the Prosecutors. In vain was it objected that a Turk might not be left to the mercy of Jews: I would leave my Brother to their mercy, answered the Cham, were he guilty; my province is to do Justice, and as to his Conversion, and its Rewards, I leave those to Providence. The Devotees contrived, however, by their intrigues, to retard the Execution of judgment till the Friday-afternoon, that their Convert might take advantage of that

Law

Law which obliges the offended Party to execute Sentence within twenty-four hours, knowing that the Jewiſh Rites of Sabbath began at Sun-ſet. Nevertheleſs the Aſſaſſin, loaded with chains, was brought to the Butt on which theſe kind of Executions were performed. But here a new Obſtacle aroſe. The Jews are forbid to ſhed human blood, and the public Crier was ſent through the Town to offer a conſiderable ſum to any one who would undertake the office of Executioner; but this office the moſt miſerable of the Tartars diſdains. An account of the proceedings was carried to the Judgment-ſeat of the Cham, and the Enthuſiaſts hoped to gain their point; in which, however, they were deceived. Mackſood-Gueray permitted the Jews to execute the Law according to the precepts of the Old Teſtament, and the Murderer was ſtoned to death.

The Turkiſh Law, of which I ſpoke before, that delivers the Culprit to the injured, is founded on the Koran, which grants the right of life and death over the Aſſaſſin to the neareſt Relation of the Deceaſed;

ceaſed; and we have ſeen that in Turky the Complainant aſſiſts at the Execution. But the Tartar Law, more literal, requires the Complainant himſelf to be the Executioner. I likewiſe obſerved that, among the Turks, the Executioner does not perform the office till the ſum offered by the Culprit has been refuſed, nor do there want examples of women who have ſold the Blood of their murdered huſbands. In Tartary, on the contrary, a woman, who is obliged herſelf to plunge the fatal knife, is never ſeduced by any Temptation to remit the puniſhment; and the Law, which leaves her Vengeance in her own hand, renders her heart inacceſſible to any other ſenſation. One of the Prince's Officers, bearing a ſilver hatchet, and with his arm raiſed, precedes the Criminal, conducts him, and is preſent at the Execution.

There is no Country where crimes are leſs common than in Tartary; their Plains, where Malefactors might eaſily eſcape, yield but few temptations; and the Peninſula of the Crimea, which affords more objects to Cupidity, is daily ſhut up, and leaves

not the Culprit the ſmalleſt hope to eſcape chaſtiſement. Hence we perceive no precautions taken for the ſecurity of the Capital: it contains no other Guards than thoſe which the Sovereign Dignity requires.

The Palace the Cham inhabits, built firſt in the Chineſe ſtyle, and afterwards repaired in the Turkiſh, preſerves ſome of the beauties of its firſt conſtruction. It ſtands on the outſide of the Town, and is ſurrounded by very high rocks, where water abounds, which is diſtributed through the Kioſks and Gardens in a moſt agreeable manner. This ſituation has one defect; it preſents no other proſpect but barren rocks, and the Cham is obliged to walk on the neighbouring Heights, in order to enjoy a Landſcape the moſt beauteous and the moſt variegated.

We have obſerved that the Plains of the Noguais, which extend along the Continent of the Crimea, are almoſt of a level with the Sea, and that the Iſthmus is from thirty to forty feet more elevated. This ſuperior Plain occupies the northern half

half of the Peninſula, after which the Land, interſected by rocks, and loaded with mountains, running from weſt to eaſt, is overlooked by the Tchadir-Dague, or the Tent-Mountain. This Mountain, placed too near the Sea for its baſe to add much to its elevation, can only be claſſed in the ſecond order of Mountains. But if we caſt an eye over the map, we cannot help perceiving, in the Tchadir-Dague, that chain which connects the Alps with Mount Caucaſus. In fact, we behold a branch of the Appenines, which traverſe Europe from weſt to eaſt, ſeparate Germany from Italy, Poland from Hungary, and Walachia from ancient Thrace; and, after plunging in the Black Sea, re-appear, in the ſame line, on the ſouthern coaſt of the Crimea, ſcarcely leaving a paſſage for the communication of the Sea of Aſof and the Euxine, then continuing their route to the Caſpian Sea, under the name of Caucaſus, take afterward that of Tibet, and extend themſelves to the very eaſtern borders of Aſia. Nor is the Series of theſe mountains leſs evident, or leſs demonſtrable, from

their aſpect, ſtructure, the Foſſils they yield, and the Minerals they contain.

The firſt obſervation which preſents itſelf, in the Crimea, is the uniformity of a bed of rocks which is found on the tops of all the Mountains on the ſame level. Theſe rocks, which riſe more or leſs to the ſurface, afford indiſputable traces of the effects of Water, and bear the character of thoſe which are at preſent expoſed to the efforts of the Sea. They are likewiſe apparently interſperſed with Foſſil-oyſters, but ſo enveloped as not to be procured, but by the aid of the Chiſel. It is to be obſerved, too, that the living ſpecies of theſe Foſſil-oyſters, which are of the largeſt, is unknown in the Levant Seas. I ſhall add that the northern coaſt of the Euxine is, at preſent, without Oyſters, and in the ſouthern the ſmall Species only is to be found.

Among the Foſſils which adhere to theſe rocks, there is likewiſe the *Echinus Marinus*, or Sea-Urchin, the living ſpecies of which is peculiar to the Red Sea. The Vallies of that part of the Crimea contain extenſive beds of univalve Foſſils, and almoſt all

all of the ſpecies called Chineſe Bonnets. Theſe Foſſils, however, differ from thoſe found in the Mediterranean, by the ſuperior thickneſs of the ſhell, which is leſs open at the mouth, and circularly ſtriated. So abundant are theſe ſhells, in ſome Vallies, that they abſolutely ſtifle vegetation. They are mixed with fragments of ſoft gravel, infoliated and herberized, the principal bed of which is ſeen in the bottom of little gutters.

The level of the banks of rocks, between Mountain and Mountain, which I, by experiment, have aſcertained, compared with the level of the Water, proves their beds to be all equally horizontal. I have always paid the moſt ſcrupulous attention in my reſearches concerning ſo new and intereſting an object, and never found any exception to that uniformity (*y*).

A view

(*y*) When human knowledge ſhall have diſcovered the principle of the Revolutions of this Globe, the obſervation I here make, on the immutability of the ſoil in the Crimea, will acquire more value, and will prove that the Cauſes of deſtruction have been ineffectual

A view of the high lands of the Crimea, taken on a level from theſe banks of rocks, preſents only an Archipelago, a multitude of Iſlands, more or leſs raiſed at a ſmall diſtance from thoſe lands which, at that Epocha, formed the northern Continent: nor is it till you come near the leſſer Don that the Land begins to be elevated to nearly the ſame level.

Theſe reſearches, relative to primitive Geography, while they aſſiſt the progreſs of Knowledge, will no doubt caſt a new light on an argument which the ſpirit of Syſtem has long ſince ſuſtained. The Learned, who ſhall be curious to know the firſt aſpect of our Globe, will find it by following the ſame level, the traces of which are every where diſtinct. The higheſt Mountains will afford them thoſe levels which were firſt abandoned by the waters. But, confined, in theſe Memoirs, to ſpeak

fectual over the Peninſula. Earthquakes, almoſt unknown, never can have been central here; the ſummit of the rocks is covered with vegetable earth, and the higheſt Mountains retain not the leaſt indication of a Crater, or veſtige of Lava.

only

only of the Countries I have viſited, and the Manners of their Inhabitants, I ſhall indulge myſelf no longer on this ſubject, except to relate the remarkable anſwer made me by a Tartar.

I was walking with this man in one of thoſe narrow Vallies, or Straits, which join to that wherein Bactcheſeray is ſituated, and I obſerved an iron Ring placed on the top of an inacceſſible rock, which overlooked and terminated this Valley. I aſked my Tartar what could be the uſe of that Ring, to which he coolly replied, "I ſuppoſe it ſerved to "faſten Veſſels to, when the Sea, bathing "theſe rocks, formed a Port in this "Strait."——I ſtood confounded! Admiring the Genius which, having no other guide than the daily compariſon of the preſent Sea-ſhore with the ancient traces of its Waters, imprinted and preſerved on the Mountains, was equal to the ſolution of ſuch a Problem. The ancient Greeks and Romans had occaſion to admire the ſublime moral philoſophy of the Scythians, yet an idea ſo vaſt, concerning the Revolutions of our Globe, is more aſtoniſhing in a Tartar;

and his unaffected Simplicity tended to increaſe my Admiration.

From him we may ſuppoſe his Countrymen are little intereſted about the Monuments which atteſt the different Ages of Nature; they even neglect to appropriate her labours to their own uſes, by digging the Mines of Tchadir-Dague. The Genoeſe, better inſtructed, and certainly more covetous, had begun to extricate the Gold which that Mountain contains, in tolerably great abundance. And it may be preſumed the Cham would not remain inſenſible to the acquiſition of its Riches, if the fear of exciting the Avarice of the Port had not made him prefer inaction to labour, the fruits of which he would not be ſuffered to enjoy. The danger of ſeeing this Gold tranſplanted to Conſtantinople is not the only one which a Cham of the Tartars would be expoſed to, in working the Mines he poſſeſſes. Forced to invite Miners and other Artiſts to direct the proceedings, he muſt have introduced into the Crimea the ſcourges of Prohibition; and the Humanity of the Tartar Monarchs has ſacrificed their

their own intereſt to the public tranquillity. There is ſome glory in being poor at ſuch a price.

Accuſtomed to an Exiſtence the Pleaſures of which appertain more to the Richneſs of the Soil than to the Pomp impriſoned in the dark entrails of the Earth, the Tartars make the free Air in which they breathe promote their Happineſs, and the beauty of the Climate adminiſters to their Neceſſities and Satisfactions.

The Meteors which the Heavens here continually preſent, as well as the whiteneſs of the Aurora Borealis, prove the Purity of the Atmoſphere. We may alſo attribute what we may venture to call its ethereal Qualities to the immenſe dry Plains, which extend on the North of this Country, and to the neighbourhood of Mount Caucaſus; the heights of which attract and abſorb all the Vapours which riſe to the Weſt.

Regular Seaſons, which gradually ſucceed each other, contribute, with the goodneſs of the Soil, to produce the moſt abundant Vegetation. The ſame kind of black Land, mixed with ſand, extends from Leopold, in Red

Red Ruſſia, as far as the Peninſula. The heat of the Sun fructifies every kind of Grain with very little labour from the Huſbandman; who does nothing but plow the Land he means to ſow. Melon-ſeed, with Peas and Beans mixed, are ſcattered by a man who follows the Plough. They do not even cover the grain, but depend upon the Rain to labour for them; and the ſoil is abandoned to Chance till Harveſt time, when they endeavour to clear the Crop of the confuſion which this mixture of ſeed renders inevitable.

Among the numerous ſpontaneous Productions which overſpread the face of the Crimea, Aſparagus, Walnuts, and Filberts, are diſtinguiſhed by their ſize. The abundance of Flowers is equally remarkable. Entire Fields, covered by the ſmall Tulip, form, from the variety of their Colours, the moſt agreeable Pictures.

The manner in which the Vine is cultivated, in the Crimea, ſerves not to meliorate the quality of the Grape; and we ſee, with regret, that the fineſt ſituations in the World cannot determine the inhabitants to prefer them

them to the Vallies. The Slips are planted in furrows of eight or ten feet diameter, and four or five deep. The ſuperior part of theſe Ditches ſerves to ſuſtain the Branches, which, thus ſupported, cover the whole orifice with Foliage, under which hang the Grapes that, by this means, are hid from the Sun: they are likewiſe abundantly fed by an ever-humid Soil; and, moreover, are often ſteeped in the rain Water there collected. They ſtrip off the leaves a month before the Vintage, after which they take care to cut the Vine near the ground, and the Vineyards remain, during Winter, under water, owing to the inundation of ſmall Rivers, leaving a free field to the aquatic Birds.

Among the various Species of theſe Birds, which abound in the Crimea, the moſt remarkable is a kind of Wild-gooſe, with longer legs than ours, and a plumage of a bright brick colour. The Tartars pretend the Fleſh of this Animal is exceedingly dangerous: I taſted it, and only found it exceedingly good-for-nothing.

No

No country has more Quails than the Crimea, and theſe Birds, diſperſed during the fine weather, aſſemble at the approach of Autumn, to croſs the Black Sea over to the ſouthern coaſt, whence they afterwards tranſport themſelves into hotter Climates. The order of this Emigration is invariable. Towards the end of Auguſt, the Quails, in a body, chuſe one of thoſe ſerene days when the Wind, blowing from the North at Sunſet, promiſes them a fine Night. They repair to the Strand, take their departure at ſix or ſeven in the evening, and have finiſhed a journey of fifty leagues by break of day. Nets are ſpread on the oppoſite ſhore, and Hunters waiting for their arrival to take Tythe of the Emigrants.

Though the quantity of Water is great, in the Crimea, it forms no remarkable River: the proximity of the Sea ſuffers no Current to be more than a Brook; the ſtrongeſt Heats never leave the Channels dry, and the Inhabitants, every where, find limpid ſtreams, which meander agreeably through the meadows, and wander among the rocks. The Italian Poplar flouriſhes here, and is numerous

numerous enough to make us ſuppoſe it a native of the Crimea, if the Genoeſe Eſtabliſhments did not indicate by whom it may have been tranſplanted.

That People, who reigned long by their induſtry, had extended their Commerce and their Conqueſts as far as the Taurica Cherſoneſus, where the Deſcendants of the famous Zingis-Khan were forced to cede to the oppreſſion of theſe Merchants, till the time of Mahomet II. who only delivered the Tartars from the tyranny of the Genoeſe to ſubſtitute a Yoke equally heavy, but, certainly, leſs humiliating. The remains of thoſe means by which the Tartars were ſubjected to the Genoeſe are ſtill to be ſeen in the Crimea. Theſe Monuments of Tyranny atteſt the fears which haunted the Tyrants; the traces of whoſe antient habitations are only to be found among the ſteepeſt rocks: and even the very rock, which ſerved as a baſe to their ſtrong holds, is undermined all round, and ſtill preſents the plan of their abodes. Here are Stables where the Mangers are cut in the rock. Moſt part of theſe Excavations connect with each other,

other, and ſome of them with the high Town by ſubterranean paſſages, which are at preſent open. I found, in the centre of a tolerably large Hall, a ſquare Baſon, ten feet in diameter, and ſeven deep, full of human bones. I hazard no conjectures on this Incident, but confine myſelf to relating it, obſerving only, that this Baſon is among the Ruins which are no more than two leagues from Bactcheſeray. Many of theſe retreats, hewn out of rocks, may be ſeen in the Crimea, always on Mountains of difficult aſcent. It may be preſumed they ſerved as an aſylum to the Flocks which the Genoeſe fed on the Plains, in the day-time, and there ſecured them during the night (N).

The ſteepeſt Heights have ever been the aſylum of Liberty, or the retreat of Tyranny. Rocks, in fact, afford ſituations moſt capable of diſſipating the fears of the Oppreſſors and the Oppreſſed.

It is probable that the Town of Caſa, which is ſtill the centre of Commerce in the Crimea, was likewiſe the place of greateſt Trade among the Genoeſe. Yet, conſidering the beauty of the Port of Baluklava,

and ſome ruins of antient Edifices, there to be ſeen, one is led to ſuppoſe they did not neglect the advantages it poſſeſſes. This Port is ſituated on the moſt ſouthern part of the Crimea: the two Capes, which form its entrance, are the firſt land ſeen from the North-eaſt of the Boſphorus of Thrace. To the proximity of this Port, its ſecurity and extent, is added the neighbourhood of Foreſts, which might ſupply Wood for all mechanical purpoſes. Totally abandoned, Baluklava preſerves only the Veſtiges of its antient Importance, as we have already ſeen that the Tombs which yet exiſt at Crim, the antient Capital of the Peninſula, are the ſole remaining Indications of a Town formerly very conſiderable.

The Crimea offers little worthy of obſervation. We ought, however, to mention Geuzlevai, on account of its harbour on the Weſtern ſide of the Peninſula, and Acmedchid, the reſidence of the Calga Sultan (z).

(z) We ſhall ſee hereafter what that Dignity is.

After

After thus noticing the principal objects of the Natural Hiſtory of the Crimea, let us conſider a little more attentively the particular ſituation of the Tartars, and the Principles of their Government.

The Country compriſed under the name of Little Tartary contains the Peninſula of the Crimea, the Kooban, a part of Circaſſia, and all the lands which ſeparate the Empire of Ruſſia from the Black Sea. This circuit, continued from Moldavia almoſt to Taganrog, between the 44th and 46th degrees of Latitude, is from thirty to forty leagues wide, and nearly two hundred long. From Eaſt to Weſt, it includes Yetitchekoolai, Dgamboylook, Yedeſan, and Beſſarabia. The latter Province, at preſent called Boodjak, is inhabited by Tartars, who, as well as thoſe of the Peninſula, have fixed habitations in their Villages; but the Inhabitants of the three other Provinces have only Felt Tents, which they carry wherever they pleaſe.

Thoſe people, called Noguais, and ſuppoſed to be Nomades, are ſettled, however, in the Vallies that traverſe their Plains from North

North to South, and their Tents, ranged in a ſingle line, form, there, a kind of Villages of thirty and thirty-five leagues in length, which diſtinguiſh the different Hordes.

It may be preſumed that the ruſtic frugal life, which theſe Paſtoral-people lead, favors Population, while the wants and exceſſes of Luxury, among Poliſhed Nations, ſtrike at its very root. In fact, it is obſerved that the People are leſs numerous under the roofs of the Crimea, and the Province of Boodjack, than in the Tents of the Noguais. The beſt calculation we can make is from a view of the Military forces, which the Cham is able to aſſemble. We ſhall ſoon ſee this Prince raiſing three armies at the ſame time; one of a hundred thouſand men, which he commanded in perſon, another of ſixty thouſand, commanded by the Calga, and a third of forty thouſand, by the Nooradin. He had the power of raiſing double the number without prejudice to the neceſſary labors of the State; and, if we eſtimate the number of Soldiers, and the ſurface of the Country,

we may compare their Population with ours.

The moſt certain way of finding the true ſtrength of theſe Nations is to ſee them embodied, and in action; but we ſhall do well to begin by obſerving the nature of their Forces, and the means by which they are aſſembled. Theſe means are the effects of their Government, and the origin of all Government is the province of Hiſtory.

The Hiſtory of the Tartars preſents the image of a vaſt Ocean, the extent of which cannot be known but by examining its Coaſts. Their Archives, in fact, are only found among the Nations who have had the misfortune to be their Neighbours, and whom they have ſucceſſively ravaged; and, as theſe Nations have written little or nothing, the Hiſtorian is obliged to be contented with Probabilities; but theſe are ſuch that, when we compare them with the Annals of all Nations, we are forced to confeſs that the Tartars have the beſt title to the higheſt Antiquity (O).

Without

Without pretending to a profound examination of the Queſtion which at preſent agitates our men of Literature, that of the true Situation of the Iſland of the Atlantes, I ſhall juſt obſerve that the flat, high land of Tartary, which extends to the North, and the chain of the mountains Caucaſus and Tibet, continued almoſt as far as the Peninſula of Corea, (if we may judge by the courſe of the water, which, from the centre of Aſia, ſpreads to the South and to the North of that part of the Globe) preſent the higheſt portion of land which ſeparates the Indian Seas from thoſe of Kamtſchatka.

This ſole obſervation ſeems to prove that the Country at preſent occupied by the Tartars muſt have been the firſt land diſcovered in Aſia, the firſt inhabited, the firſt ſource of Population, and the origin of thoſe emigrations, which, conſtantly repelled by the Chineſe Wall, and the defiles of Tibet and Caucaſus, have paſſed from the North of Aſia into Europe, where they were known under the names of Goths, Oſtro-Goths, and Viſi-Goths (P).

To the Geographical Obſervations, which ſupport this Hypotheſis, may likewiſe be added the Tartar-tradition, which Crim-Gueray communicated to me, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee aſcend the Throne, and whoſe Fortitude, Knowledge, Philoſophy, and Death we ſhall admire.

It would be difficult, however, to procure any well eſtabliſhed Facts of the Annals of the Tartars before Zingis-Khan. We know that this Prince was elected Grand Cham by the Chams of the different Tribes, and was only choſen to be the King of Kings becauſe he was the moſt powerful among them. We know likewiſe that Zingis-Khan conceived and executed Projects of Uſurpation, by which he formed the vaſteſt Empire known to Hiſtory. The emigrations which followed this Conqueror, and which ſpread over the conquered Countries, prove, alſo, the degree of Population neceſſary to ſuch an influx; and theſe Conſiderations, united, throw the Origin of that Family into the obſcurity of the moſt diſtant Ages.

An

An uninterrupted Chain has brought down this Dynaſty of Zingiſian Princes even to our times, as it likewiſe has the Feodal Government to which the Tartars are ſubject. Among them we find the original Laws by which we were governed, and the ſame Prejudices by which we are enſlaved; if, therefore, we compare theſe ſimilarities with the emigrations of thoſe ancient People towards the North, and the emigrations of the northern People towards us, we ſhall perhaps be brought to acknowledge the original Source of the oldeſt Cuſtoms.

After the Royal Family, the next in Rank are thoſe of Chirin, Manſoor, Sedjood, Arguin, and Baroon. The family of Zingis-Khan furniſhes the Lords Paramount, and the five others are the five great Vaſſals of the Empire. Thoſe called Beys are always repreſented by the eldeſt of each family, which Order is invariable. The ancient Mirzas, whoſe root is found in their Annals, among the Companions of Zingis-Khan, form the high Nobility, according to the Order in which they are

named: nor may they ever be confounded with the new Nobility. The latter take the denomination of Mirza Capikooly, that is to ſay, Mirza, ſlave to the Prince. They have a Bey, however, as their Repreſentative, and the right of high Vaſſalage; that is, a ſeat in their National Aſſemblies. Among the Capikoolly Mirzas, the Family of Koodalak is eminent for its greateſt Antiquity, and thence enjoys the right of furniſhing, from its branches, the Repreſentative of all the new Nobility; and theſe ſix Beys, added to the Lord Paramount, compoſe the Senate, the Court-Ilta, and the whole power of the Tartars.

Theſe Aſſemblies are only convoked on extraordinary occaſions; but, in order that the Cham, who has the right to ſummon the Members, may not take advantage of their abſence to extend his authority beyond the bounds of the Feodal-Laws, the Bey of the Chirins conſtantly repreſents the five other Beys (Q): and this chief of the Tartar-Nobility has, as well as the Sovereign, his Calga, his Nooradin, his Miniſters, and the right of convoking the Beys, if the negli-

negligence of the Cham ſhould make it neceſſary, to counteract his own abuſes or uſurpations. The poſt of Calga of the Chirins is always occupied by the eldeſt of the Family, after the Bey; ſo that the Chief has his Succeſſor conſtantly near him, and this counterpoiſe to Sovereign-Power is ever in activity.

The ſame order, which unites the Great againſt the encroachments of Deſpotiſm, is equally watchful for the ſecurity and ſupport of the legal power of the Sovereign. The grand Vaſſals of the Tartars ſeem, in fact, to be to the Government what Columns are to an Edifice; they ſuſtain, without the means of ſhaking it. There are no examples, among theſe People, of troubles, ſimilar to thoſe which agitated France in Feodal Times. The Tartar Government, ſtill in its purity, gives Ambition no ſcope. In France men were born Great, but they have ſcarcely time to become ſo in Tartary.

It is probable that the ſame order was anciently eſtabliſhed in the Sovereign-Family, and that the Cham of the Tartars

was conſtantly the Eldeſt. But whatever might be the order of Succeſſion before the arrival of the Genoeſe in the Crimea, we diſtinctly perceive, at that Epocha, Tyranny protecting Intrigue, three Chams elected at once, and Mingli-Gueray, whoſe rights were the beſt founded, a Priſoner in Mancoop.

When Mahomet II. had taken Conſtantinople, and expelled thence the Genoeſe, he haſtened to chaſe them from the Crimea, and deliver Mingli-Gueray out of their hands. But he did not re-eſtabliſh this Prince upon the Throne, till he had firſt made a Treaty with him, by which, his nomination and that of his Succeſſors were ſubmitted to the Porte. A great part of Romelia was given as a Fief to the Zingiſian Prince, rich poſſeſſions became the ſolace for Liberty to the Tartarian Sultans, and the Guarantee of their Obedience, and each of the Princes of the reigning Family had hopes of obtaining the Crown by their Intrigues at Conſtantinople.

Notwithſtanding the precautions which Mahomet II. took, to aſcertain the execution of

of his Treaty with Mingli-Gueray, it is certain that the contracting Parties could only ſtipulate in virtue of their reſpective rights, that thoſe of the Tartarian Republic could not be given up, and that the dethroning a Lord Paramount, a power aſſumed by the Grand Seignior, had no legal claim over National Independence. The Rights of the Tartars, therefore, were either neglected or unknown when they were pronounced Independent. To declare a Nation free, which never was otherwiſe, is the firſt act of its ſubjection.

The political means, by which a perfect equilibrium is maintained, between the grand Vaſſals and the Sovereign in the Crimea, demand that the diſtribution of Land ſhould aſcertain their duration; and this diſtribution ought, itſelf, to be ſubject to ſuch varities as the Manners of the Inhabitants require.

The Lands of the Crimea and Beſſarabia are divided into Fief's-Noble, Royal-Domains, and Poſſeſſions held by Soccage. The firſt, which are all hereditary, are not held, even of the Crown; nor are they ſubject

ſubject to any taxation. The ſecond are, in part, annexed to certain Employs, of which they compoſe the Revenue, and the ſurplus is diſtributed by the Sovereign to thoſe he wiſhes to gratify. The right of Eſcheat, eſtabliſhed in the Crimea in default of Heirs to the ſeventh degree, is confirmed to the Cham, where-ever the Poſſeſſions of the Nobility are in queſtion, and each Mirza enjoys the ſame right over all the lands held by ſoccage throughout his Fief. Hence the origin of annual Capitation, to which Jewiſh and Chriſtian Vaſſals are ſubject; and hence, likewiſe, the Fiefs-Noble in Tartary have every extenſion of the moſt abſolute Proprietary. Nor are the Mirza Poſſeſſors liable to military ſervice, except to the States when aſſembled. But I ſhall ſpeak more on that ſubject preſently, when I come to thoſe circumſtances which put theſe Powers in action.

Among the Noguais ſuch diſtinctions of territorial Property are unknown. Theſe Paſtoral-People, occupied only concerning their Flocks and Herds, leave them the free enjoyment of the Plains they inhabit, and only

only confine themſelves to the limits marked between the neighbouring Hordes.

But though the Noguai-Mirzas partake, in common with their Vaſſals, the Proprietary of the Soil, and though they attach a kind of ſhame to Culture, they are not the leſs powerful. Retired, during Winter, to the Vallies of their reſpective Hordes, each, there, receives, in his Aool (*a*), the Tribute of Cattle and other Commodities become due; and when the ſowing Seaſon begins, each, with his Huſbandmen, removes to the Plain, chuſes the Land for Culture, and divides it among his Vaſſals. By this removal of Cultivation the Noguais poſſeſs excellent Paſturage, and abundant Harveſts, from Land which is not exhauſted by too frequent Crops.

The right of Corvée (*b*), which, no doubt, appertains leſs to the feodal Conſtitution than the Luxury of the grand

(*a*) Aool is that Portion of the Horde which comprehends the Vaſſals of an individual Nobleman.

(*b*) *Corvée is when Vaſſals are called out to work on a certain day, or days, for the Lord of the Manor, without wages.* T.

Vaſſals

Vaſſals and Lord of Manors, is eſtabliſhed in the Crimea, but is unknown among the Noguais. They pay Tythes to the Governor of the Province.

The Sultans, who are uſually appointed Governors, reſide among them under the title of Seraſkers, and have the power of Viceroys. But the firſt Dignity of the Empire is that of Calga, which is always conferred by the Cham on the Prince of the Family in which he places the greateſt confidence. The Calga's reſidence is at Achmedchid, a Town four leagues diſtant from Bactcheſeray, where he enjoys all the ſtate of Sovereignty. His Miniſters execute his orders, and his Command extends almoſt to Cafa.

The dignity of Calga, antiently deſtined to the preſumptive Succeſſor, ſtill preſerves the privilege of Regency, at the death of the Cham, till the arrival of the future Sovereign. The Calga commands, in chief, the Tartar Armies, if the Cham goes not to war in perſon; and, as Lord Paramount, is Heir to all the Mirzas who die in his

Appanage

Appanage without Heirs to the ſeventh degree.

The Poſt of Nooradin, which is the ſecond in the Kingdom, is likewiſe occupied by a Sultan. He enjoys alſo the right of having his Miniſters, but they, as well as their Maſter, have no powers to act. This little Court, which has no other reſidence than Bactcheſeray, is confounded with that of the Cham. If however any event calls out the Troops of the Nooradin to the Field, both his authority and that of his Miniſters immediately acquire all the activity of Sovereign-Power.

The third Dignity of the Kingdom, occupied by a Sultan, the Prince of Orcapi, under the Title of Or-Bey, has occaſionally been conferred on Chirin Mirzas, who had eſpouſed Princeſſes of the Blood Royal. Theſe Nobles, who diſdain the firſt places in the Miniſtry, and accept none but thoſe deſtined to Sultans, have alſo been appointed to diſtant Governments; but ſuch Governments are uſually given to the Sons, or Nephews, of the reigning Prince, where they are Generals of their provincial Troops;

and when the Troops of Boodjak, Yedeſan, and Kooban, are in action, they are always commanded by their Sultan-Seraſkers, even after their re-union with the armies of the Cham, the Calga, or the Nooradin.

The Horde Dgamboylook is only governed by a Caimakan, or Lord-Lieutenant, who acts as Seraſker, and conducts his Troops to the Army; but there gives up the Command to the General in Chief, returns to his Government, and looks to the ſecurity of the Plains ſituated before the Iſthmus of the Crimea.

Beſides theſe great Offices, the Revenues of which conſiſt in certain Rights eſtabliſhed in their Provinces, there are two other Female Dignities: that of Ala-Bey, which the Cham uſually beſtows on his Mother, or one of his Wives, and that of Oloo-Kanai, which he always gives to his eldeſt Siſter, or the eldeſt of his Daughters. Several Villages are dependant on theſe Princeſſes, who determine the differences which happen among their ſubjects, and do Juſtice in the perſons of their Intendants, who ſit

for

for that purpoſe at the Gate of the Seraglio, neareſt the Haram.

I ſhall not deſcribe the Functions of the Mufti, the Viſir, and the other Miniſters, they being analogous to the ſame official duties in Turky, except as far as the Principles and Cuſtoms of a feodal Government may leſſen their Power.

The Revenues of the Cham ſcarcely amount to 600,000 Livres (25,000 Pounds Sterling) for the maintenance of his Houſehold. If, however, this ſmall Income confines the Prince's Liberality, it does not prevent him from being generous. A number of Mirzas live at his Expence, till the right of Eſcheat gives him the Means of diſencumbering himſelf, by granting them Lands.

The raiſing of Forces is no expence to him. All Eſtates are held by military Tenure. Neither does the Sovereign ſupport any expence of Juſtice: he decides all Diſputes, throughout his States, gratis; as each Juriſdiction likewiſe does, in its reſpective Diſtricts. An Appeal lies from theſe

theſe individual Tribunals to that of the Lord Paramount.

The beſt Education among the Tartars goes not beyond learning to read and write; but, though the Education of the Mirzas is neglected, they are eminent for their eaſy Politeneſs. This is the effect of their familiar habits of living with their Princes, without ever failing to pay them a proper reſpect.

Bactcheſeray, however, poſſeſſes a moſt valuable Hiſtorical Journal, undertaken by the Anceſtor of a Family which has always preſerved and continued it with care. This Manuſcript, which its firſt Author began by collecting the moſt ancient Traditions, contains the ſucceeding Hiſtorical Facts to this day. My arrival in Tartary having engaged the Continuer of this Journal to aſk ſome Information on various Matters of me, I thus diſcovered its exiſtence, and wiſhed to have purchaſed it, but in vain. Five thouſand Crowns (1,250l.) could not tempt him to part with it, and circumſtances deprived me of time to obtain Extracts (R).

Our

Our Gazettes have ſpoken much of the Troubles which, in theſe Times, have agitated Poland, and of the Diſputes of the Porte with Ruſſia. Mackſood-Gueray, finding himſelf in the midſt of theſe Conteſts, was obliged to become a conſiderable Actor in them; he dreaded the conſequences, foreſaw his Succeſſor in Krim-Gueray, and was not deceived in any one of his Conjectures.

The Affair at Balta made the Grand Seignior reſolve to diſplay the Standard of Mahomet. The Ruſſian Miniſter was conducted to the Seven Towers, and Krim-Gueray, replaced on the Throne of the Tartars, was called to Conſtantinople, there to concert with his Highneſs the firſt Military Operations. This News arrived at Bactcheſeray, with that of the Depoſition of Mackſood. The ſame Courier brought Orders from the new Cham to inſtall a Caimakan, or Regent, and likewiſe to fix the general Rendezvous at Kaoochan in Beſſarabia. Thither I haſtily repaired, and was preparing to meet Krim-Gueray, at the Danube, when a Courier came to me

from him, by which he diſpenſed with this formality, requiring only I ſhould accompany him in his public Entry, aſſuring me of his good-will, and inviting me to have a Supper prepared for him on the day of his arrival.

This beginning appeared to me very amiable; but the Supper would have perplexed me, had I not eaſily obtained ſome intimations from the Courier, who was in the Cham's Confidence.—Our Maſter, ſays he, loves Fiſh, and knows you have a good Cook; his Cooks only put water in their Sauces. This Hint was ſufficient, and I gave Orders to have the beſt Fiſh of the Neiſter ſteeped in excellent Wine.

The Cham was to make his Entrance the next day. I mounted my Horſe, and met him two Leagues from the Town. He was accompanied by a numerous Cavalcade, and the Reception I found correſponded with the preceding Teſtimonies of his friendly Diſpoſitions towards me.

Krim-Gueray was about ſixty Years of age, had a good Shape, a noble Air, eaſy Manners, a majeſtic Figure, a quick Eye,

and

and the Talent of aſſuming a gentle Benevolence, or a commanding Severity. The War brought a great number of Sultans into his Train, ſeven of whom were his Children. I was particularly made to obſerve the ſecond of theſe Princes, whoſe young Courage was ardent to be diſtinguiſhed, and who, from a habit of exerciſing his Strength, could eaſily draw two Bows at once. He had uſed himſelf to this Exerciſe from his Childhood, and was ſcarcely nine Years old when his Father, deſirous of ſtimulating his Self-Love, told him, with an air of Contempt, that a Diſtaff would better become a Coward, like him, than a Bow.—A Coward! replied the Boy, growing Pale as he ſpoke, I am afraid of no one, not even of you: and let fly an Arrow, which happily lodged in a Wainſcot-panel, where it ſtuck two Fingers deep. When great Mildneſs and Marks of the moſt profound filial Reſpect are added to Warmth like this, it is not poſſible to attribute ſuch an Attempt to any Thing but exceſſive Senſibility, on the Point of Honor.

The preparations for the public Entry of the Cham, and his Inſtallation, were ready at the City Gates. Here he alighted, for a moment, to dreſs himſelf, under a Tent erected for that purpoſe. He put on a Bonnet with two Plumes of feathers, enriched by Diamonds, flung his Bow and Quiver acroſs his ſhoulders; and, thus equipped, preceded by his Guard and ſeveral led Horſes, with Head-ſtalls ornamented with Plumes of feathers, followed by the Standard of the Prophet, and accompanied by his whole Court, this Prince came to his Palace, where he received, in the Hall of the Divan, and ſeated on the Throne, the homage of all the Grandees.

This Ceremony employed us till Supper-time. I had made my Preparations, and my Cook had the liberty to ſerve up Supper. The Cooks of the Cham, informed of this Circumſtance, were alſo emulous of being diſtinguiſhed; but they had little chance of vanquiſhing Wine Sauce. Nor had their ſucceeding Courſes more ſucceſs; and the ſuperiority of French Cookery furniſhed me, daily, with the advantage of

ſupplying

ſupplying the Prince with twelve Diſhes, at each of his meals.

Krim-Gueray was not ſenſible alone to the pleaſures of the Table; each had its influence over him. A numerous Orcheſtra, a Company of Comedians and Dancers, whom he kept in pay, employed his evenings, gave variety to his amuſements, and relief to his Political Buſineſs and the preparations for War, which kept him buſy during the day.

The Prince's activity, which was equal to his ſtation, led him to require Induſtry from others; and I dare affirm he appeared ſatisfied with mine. I had part in his confidence, and was admitted to partake his pleaſures, and particularly amuſed myſelf with the animated and variegated picture which this Court afforded.

Kaoochan was become the Centre of Tartary; orders were iſſued thence, and men repaired thither from all parts, ſo that the Crowd of Courtiers augmented every day. The new Miniſters, whom I had known in the Crimea, and who perceived the particular kindneſs with which the

Cham treated me, made choice of me to obtain a favour from their Maſter, which they durſt not aſk themſelves. Experience, during his former reign, had taught them that it was important to prevent a firſt Act of Cruelty, which, though, in the beginning, repugnant perhaps to his Character, having once begun, there was no ſeeing where he might ſtop.

An unfortunate Tartar, taken in the act of diſobeying orders, which were too ſevere, had been condemned to death by the Cham, and preparations were made to lead him to execution juſt as I arrived at the Palace. I was preſently ſurrounded by ſeveral Sultans, who explained the facts, and intreated me to preſerve the Tartars from the conſequences of this Execution. I entered to Krim-Gueray, whom I found ſtill agitated by the efforts he had made over himſelf to order it, approached him, ſtooped to kiſs his hand, and retained it, notwithſtanding the motion he made to draw it back, which never happened to me before. What do you want, ſaid he, with a kind of ſeverity? The Pardon of the Culprit, anſwered

ſwered I. What intereſt have you in the Pardon of that Wretch? None; I cannot be intereſted in behalf of one who has diſobeyed you; it is for you alone I intercede; were you once too ſevere, you would ſoon become cruel, and you need not ceaſe to be good in order to be conſtantly feared and reſpected. He ſmiled, permitted me to kiſs his hand, and I went to announce the Pardon he had granted.

The joy which this inſpired was continued by the exhibition of a new Turkiſh Comedy of a Burleſque kind. During the Repreſentation Krim-Gueray aſked me various queſtions concerning Moliere, whom he had heard ſpoken of, and what I told him of Dramatic Rules, and the regard to propriety obſerved on our Theatres, gave him a diſguſt for the Shews to which the Turks are ſtill reduced. He himſelf felt that the Comedy of *Tartuffe* was preferable to that of *Pourceaugnac*, but he could not conceive how the ſubject of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* might exiſt in a Society where the Laws have invariably fixed its different ſtates; and I rather choſe he ſhould imagine

the Poet was wrong, than undertake to juſtify him, by giving a deſcription of our Diſorders. But, added he, though no one can deceive himſelf, reſpecting his Birth, he eaſily may concerning his Character. Each Country has its Tartuffes, and ſo has Tartary; I ſhall be glad, therefore, if you will get me that Comedy tranſlated (*c*).

While our imaginations were employed on theſe peaceable kind of Projects, an Envoy from the Poliſh Confederates arrived at Kaoochan, to concert with Krim-Gueray the opening of the Campaign. The Cham had promiſed the Grand Seignior to commence by an Incurſion into New Servia, by which the Poliſh Ukraine might be affected, and this circumſtance required ſome preliminary Negociations, to which the Powers of the Envoy did not appear equal.

Time preſſed, and Krim-Gueray deſired me to approach Kotchim, there to treat, in

(*c*) M. Ruffin, Secretary Interpreter to the King at Verſailles, undertook this Tranſlation; and his Genius would have lain the foundation of good taſte, among the Tartars, if circumſtances had permitted him to continue his labours.

his

his name, with the Confederate Chiefs, who had fled thither for refuge. But, however I might be flattered by the confidence of this Prince, I thought it imprudent to accept the Commiſſion without a Tartar-Colleague, who, being inſtantly named, was, as well as myſelf, inveſted with full Powers.

Our Embaſſy required Speed rather than Luxury, and we ſlept the next evening in Moldavia. Here the moſt dreadful Devaſtation had preceded the War, and this had been occaſioned by the terror of the Inhabitants, which was produced by the incurſions of ſome Troops. The deſertion of the Villages, and the ceſſation of all culture, did not promiſe the Ottoman Army that abundance which it was natural to expect in the neighbourhood of the Danube. Theſe reflections, with which I entertained my Colleague, were infinitely leſs intereſting to him than the ſcarcity we ourſelves muſt ſupport, till we arrived at Dankowtza (*d*).

Here we were received by the Counts Crazinſki and Potoſki, with all the conſi-

(*d*) A Village near Kotchim, to which the Confederates retired after the Declaration of War.

deration

deration due to the Prince we repreſented; but what pleaſed the Tartarian Ambaſſador moſt was the good Tokay Wine, with which he was regaled.

Though I had brought him in my Carriage, the inconvenience to him of a raiſed Seat made him deſirous of returning in a Turkiſh one, where he might lie at his eaſe. I was induſtrious to procure that ſatisfaction to a man ſo intereſting, both by his great Age, and amiable Character. Another Vehicle followed with our Baggage, and ſome Domeſtics; and, thus provided, we returned by a Route which we were aſſured was the beſt, though ſomewhat the longeſt.

A ſharp Froſt having ſucceeded heavy Snows, it was neceſſary to take advantage of this circumſtance for the Paſſage of the Guele-Pruth before the ſwelling of the Waters, which the ſlighteſt Thaw would occaſion.

We arrived, conducted by a Guide, at the edge of that River, the Current of which bore the ice away with rapidity. I was ignorant of the depth of the Waters, and fearful of the Experiment, but the Guide encou-

encouraged me by preceding my Carriage, which was the firſt. It was drawn by ſix good Horſes, and heavy enough to reſiſt the Current. It arrived ſafely on the oppoſite Shore, and I was eager to get out and look after the two other Carriages, the lightneſs of which made me uneaſy. They had ſcarcely made a third of the Paſſage before the Water began to ſwim them. I called to ſtop them; but, inſtead of liſtening to me, the Poſtillions drove on their Horſes, the Carriages were overturned, and, in an inſtant, the Water carried away the remains of the Wreck with the Ice.

I ran to my Poſtillion to bid him unharneſs my Carriage, and take the Horſes to the aid of my Colleague and my People; but I found him on the ground, expiring with cold. I dragged him to the next ditch, in which I flung him, and covered him with Snow. My Coachmen had run along the Banks as far as a Mill, where, by his cries, he had drawn the attention of the Millers. Here I preſently arrived, and found them occupied, fiſhing with Boat-hooks for thoſe who were under Water.

In

In vain did I ſearch for my old Colleague, and I was in utter deſpair concerning him, when I heard his Voice deſiring me not to be uneaſy. His Head only was out of Water, through the door of his Carriage, which was in the midſt of Ice, and was ſupported only by a Shallow, whence he might, with the greateſt Eaſe, have been waſhed away. I was happy enough, at laſt, to get him ſafe on ſhore, and once more to reunite my ſhipwrecked Company, whom I had yet to preſerve from the Riſk of dying with Cold. Their Clothes were ſo much frozen that they could not be undreſſed, till they had firſt been thawed by the Heat of a large Fire.

When I was well aſſured that the Millers were ſufficient to take care of them, I and my Coachman ran to look after my Poſtillion. The Snow had cured him, and we beheld him endeavouring to ſcramble out of the Ditch, into which he had been thrown. The cheerful fire at the Mill perfectly reſtored him; and I was agreeably ſurprized, when I came back, to ſee all my Baggage fiſhed out of the Stream. I made

made the beſt I could of preſent Circumſtances, and ſoon had little Cauſe to be affected concerning any thing, except the extreme Senſibility of my Colleague, who, after having himſelf ran the utmoſt Riſk, ſpoke of nothing but what I had ſuffered.

The time required to dry our Clothes, put the Carriages together, and re-victual the Troop, would not permit us to depart till the next day. Hitherto I had nothing to praiſe in this my new Route, and the bad Roads we found would have completely diſguſted me, had it not been for the Hope of arriving ſoon at Botoochan. This Town, I was told, was one of the moſt conſiderable in Moldavia. It was a Land of Promiſe, where I might find Supplies for the reſt of my Journey.

Here we arrived before Sun-ſet, but found it totally abandoned, and the open Houſes permitted us to enter that which had the beſt Appearance, and which my Conductor told me belonged to a Boyard. I found but few Reſources here; but prevailed on my Guide to go and aſk others, on my Part, from the Superior of a neighbouring Convent.

Convent. I was waiting his Return, with Impatience, when I ſaw a Coach-and-ſix enter the Court, which brought the Maſter of the Houſe. He told me that, having been informed by my Emiſſary of the Habitation I had choſen, and the Things I ſtood in need of, he was come himſelf, in order to have the Pleaſure of procuring them for me. A Beginning ſo polite reanimated our Hopes, which were ſoon further confirmed by the arrival of Proviſions.

However important my Hoſt might be, I perceived, from his Converſation, he was not the King of the Canton; but that, affably yielding to every Argument, the laſt Man who ſpoke was always with him the Wiſeſt. It was conſequently eaſy for me to ſhew him the Danger to which the Boyards expoſed themſelves, in not hindering the People from abandoning their Houſes, and how wrong they were to ſet them ſuch an Example. He told me that all the Inhabitants of the Town, to the Number of ſeven or eight Thouſand, terrified at the ill Treatment and maraud-

ing of ſome Spahis (*e*), had taken Refuge in the Convent whither I had ſent, and that many Boyards, as timid as the Multitude, fomented the Diſorder without foreſeeing its Conſequences. I was of this Number, added he, you have converted me, go and render the ſame Services to my Companions.

The Pleaſure of bringing theſe People back to their Homes, whom no Danger threatened, blinded me to my own Riſk. I kept my Hoſt all night, and, as I was obliged to paſs by the Gates of the Monaſtery, the Cries of the Women and Children, the Tumult of a confuſed Multitude, and the Proſpect of Miſery which ſurrounded them, determined me to follow my Boyard. He aſſiſted me to make my way through the Crowd, as far as a flight of Steps, on the top of which his Companions received and introduced me to the Hall, where they held their Counſels.

I had made ſuch an effect upon my Hoſt that, full of my Arguments, he would at-

(*e*) Turkiſh Horſemen.

tempt

tempt the Converſion of his Comrades; but was ſoon interrupted by the Reproaches they heaped upon him, which confirmed me in the Opinion that he was not the Chief of the Party. I then thought it time to diſplay my own Eloquence; but preſently found it had no great ſucceſs. My Audience was tempeſtuous, and its Tumults left little acceſs to the Calm I endeavoured to eſtabliſh.

I next had recourſe to more efficacious Means. A falſe Terror had occaſioned the Diſorder, a real one only could afford a Remedy. I changed my Tone, threatened to complain to the Cham, and excite him to ſudden Puniſhment. The People I excuſed, becauſe they are always led, but pronounced thoſe who heard me guilty of Rebellion. They now became trembling and ſubmiſſive.—Do you ſpeak to this terrified Crowd, ſaid the moſt turbulent of the Boyards; you will perſuade them better than we can; they will bleſs you, and, far from accuſing, you will then render teſtimony of our good Faith.

I long

I long refuſed, nor ſhould I ever have accepted, this dangerous Part, if, in returning, I had not perceived the impoſſibility of getting through the Crowd, whoſe Agitation was become exceſſive ſince my arrival.

Speak to theſe Wretches, repeated the ſame Boyard, advancing to the Front of the Steps, to ſerve me, no doubt, in quality of Coadjutor. Three Janiſſaries, armed to the Teeth, were ſitting on the ſteps, with all the arrogance of Iſlamiſm. Their air of Importance ſpoke the Protector; and, obliged to finiſh this Adventure, I thought it beſt to begin by humbling theſe Fellows; and thus aſtoniſhing the Multitude.

What do you do here? ſaid I, with a firm Tone of Voice. Defend theſe Infidels, replied one of them. You defend them! anſwered I, againſt whom? Where are their Enemies? Is it the Grand Seignior, or the Cham of the Tartars? You are Rebels, and the ſole Promoters of this preſent Diſorder: depend upon it, I will have you puniſhed.

Scarcely had I finiſhed this ſhort Addreſs before the Pride of my Turks gave way to their Fear; they roſe to hear me, and deſcended the ſteps, exculpating themſelves from evil Intentions. This firſt Advantage over the Auxiliaries, drew the Attention of the Crowd, whoſe Silence appeared to augur well. I advanced, and, raiſing my Voice, ſpoke in Greek, and was near obtaining all the Succeſs of a Demoſthenes, when a Drunkard pierced the Crowd, proclaimed himſelf an adverſe Champion, and inſolently began to interrogate me.

What do you tell us about Submiſſion, Tranquillity, and Plowing, and Sowing, when we are dying of Hunger? Bring us Bread, cried the Madman, that is what we want.—Ay Bread, repeated the furious People.

Finding, thus, my Edifice all overthrown, and not knowing how to retract the imprudent Step I had taken, I put my hands in my pockets, took out two handfuls of Silver, and throwing them among the Crowd, cried—There, good People, there

there is Bread for you; return to your Habitations, in which you will find Abundance. The Scene was inſtantly changed, they tumbled over one another to pick up the Money, and my Drunken Antagoniſt preſently diſappeared among the Aſſailants. Bleſſings ſucceeded Reproaches, while my eagerneſs to retire was greater than the zeal which had conducted me thither. I made my Retreat, however, with all the Honors of War; and arrived at my Carriage amidſt the Applauſes of the People, who opened a Paſſage for me, and who, next day, returned to their Habitations.

My Colleague, who was waiting at the Gate of the Convent, where I had been haranguing, was not without his Fears concerning the conſequences of my Imprudence. We both were happy to meet again in ſafety, and continued our Route, diſtributing, with daily care, the Proviſions given us by the Boyard. The Villages we paſſed, involved in the devaſtation which overſpread Moldavia, ſcarcely afforded us a Cover at Night. Walachia had ſuffered the like Ravages, from ſome

Turkiſh Troops deſtined to join the Cham, and who, in fact, were only occupied in the deſtruction of their own Country. There is no Horror of which theſe Turks were not guilty. Wild and ungovernable as Soldiers ſacking a City, not content with doing all the Miſchief they pleaſe, they pretend to Feats the leaſt deſirable. Some Spahis had made audacious attempts on the perſon of the old Rabbi of the Synagogue, and likewiſe on the Grecian Archbiſhop.

We arrived, at laſt, after much fatigue and ſhort allowance, at Kichenow. The Governor ſoon made us forget our hard Fare, by a good Supper and good Lodging. We had only twelve Leagues further to go, and I prepared to depart early in the morning, when I was informed it was impracticable. The Cold had been exceſſive, overnight, and to this ſucceeded a fall of Snow, ſo great, that it was impoſſible for the Carriages to croſs the Mountains over which we were obliged to paſs.

I was not, however, diſpoſed to cede to theſe Obſtructions, which ſeemed united

to

to retard my return; but my old Tartar, leſs active, and more fatigued, remained to take care of the Baggage. I departed on a Sledge, the ſwiftneſs of which preſently tranſported me to the Plains of Kaoochan. Here new Impediments awaited me; the want of Snow, added to a complete Thaw, muſt have ſtopped me, had it not been for a Cart, which I met, and which I found very convenient; although a little violence was neceſſary to force the Owner of it to become my Conductor.

On this were I and my Secretary hoiſted, and we were applauding ourſelves to think we ſhould not arrive on foot, when one of the Wheels breaking, obliged us to take this latter Method; very little to the dignity of the Ambaſſador of the Tartars.

I did not wait for my Colleague, who would not arrive for ſome days, to ſee the Cham. He had been told of my entry into Kaoochan, and, when he ſaw me, began by rallying me on the humility of his Plenipotentiary.

The Relation I gave him of the State of Moldavia, appeared to him ſo important,

that he not only informed the Porte, but iſſued immediate Orders to remedy the Diſaſter. While examining the Motives by which it was cauſed, Krim-Gueray was led to ſpeak his Sentiments concerning the Grand Viſir, Emin Pacha. That Turk was originally a Shopman, and obtaining, afterwards, the place of Writer to the Treaſury, he roſe, rapidly, by his Intrigues, to the firſt Dignities of the State. His inſolent Preſumption made him wiſh to be Viſir, and the Declaration of War and his own Ignorance preſently gave his Maſter Cauſe to repent of having made ſo bad a choice. The Defects of the Grand Viſir could not eſcape the intelligence of the Cham; he ſpoke of them aloud, and meditated the Means of preſerving the Ottoman Empire from the Conſequences of the ill Conduct and Inability of its firſt Miniſter.

The Invaſion of New Servia, which had been determined on at Conſtantinople, was conſented to in the Aſſembly of the Grand Vaſſals of Tartary; and Orders were expedited, throughout the Provinces, for the neceſſary

neceſſary Military Supplies. Three Horſemen were to be furniſhed by eight Families, which number was eſtimated to be ſufficient for the three Armies, which were all to begin their Operations at once. That of the Nooradin, conſiſting of forty thouſand men, had orders to repair to the Little Don; that of the Calga, of ſixty thouſand, was to range the Coaſt of the Boriſthenes, till they came beyond the Orela; and that which the Cham commanded in Perſon, of a hundred thouſand, was to penetrate into New Servia. The Troops from Yedeſan and Boodjak were particularly attached to this latter Army, the general Rendezvous of which was appointed to be near Tombachar.

The Cham, while relating theſe Particulars to me, aſked if I propoſed to follow him in his Expedition. To this I replied that the honour of reſiding near him, as Envoy from the Emperor of France, had made it my duty not to quit him, and had taken away the right of all Choice. This Title, replied he, which fixes your Reſidence near me, requires I

ſhould be careful of you. We ſhall ſuffer ſevere cold, which, with your preſent dreſs, you cannot ſupport. Clothe yourſelf like a Tartar. Time preſſes, we ſhall depart in eight Days.

I roſe to go and order my Campaign Equipage; and, as I left the Prince's Apartment, the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and two Pages of the Chamber, inveſted me with a ſuperb Peliſſe, made of the neck-fur of the White Lapland Wolf, and lined with the Gray Squirrel's Skin. I returned to thank the Cham for the Honour he did me;—it is a Tartar Horſe I have given you, ſaid he, laughing; I have its fellow: it is my Deſire we ſhould wear the ſame Uniform.

The Maſter of the Horſe ſent me, the ſame Day, ten Circaſſian Horſes; adviſing me, on the part of his Maſter, not to make the Campaign with my Arabian Horſes, ſince they neither could ſupport the Cold, nor the want of Fodder: but the leanneſs of thoſe preſented me did not beget my Confidence, nor did I think proper to follow this Advice.

While

While my other Tartar-Habits were making, I provided myſelf three Dromedaries, and had the Tents which were neceſſary prepared. The ſimple and eaſy mechaniſm of theſe deſerves to be deſcribed. The Tartars, habitually encamped, ought, conſequently, to have brought the Art of making them to perfection. The whole force of their faculties is employed on this, the firſt of neceſſities, to a Nation which has never known the luxuries of Indolence, and which has, therefore, bent all its powers towards thoſe things in which the exerciſe of the Body, the Chace, and the Implements of War are concerned. The Tartars take repoſe only at their leiſure, are ſedentary without being effeminate, and their Camps abſolutely reſemble their ordinary Habitations.

A light Paling, which eaſily can be packed and unpacked, forms a little circular Wall of four feet and a half high. Its two extremities, kept near three quarters of a yard diſtant, make the entrance into the Tent. A ſcore of ſmall Rods, which join at the upper ends, and, at the lower, have

have a leathern ring, by which they hook to the Paling, form the Dome, and ſuſtain the Roof; which conſiſts of a Cowl, or covering of Felt, that deſcends, and ſpreads over the Walls, which are lined alſo with the ſame ſtuff. A Girdle includes the whole, and ſome Earth, or Snow, thrown up round the bottom of the Tent, prevents the Air from penetrating, and makes it perfectly ſolid, without Poſt or Cordage. Others, of a nicer conſtruction have the Cones circularly open at top, which Apertures give paſſage to the ſmoke, permit fires to be lighted in the Tents, and render them inacceſſible to the intemperance of the moſt rigorous Climate.

The Tent of the Cham was of this kind, but ſo large, that more than ſixty People might commodiouſly ſit round a wood fire. It was lined with crimſon Stuff, furniſhed with ſome Cuſhions, and had a circular Carpet. Twelve ſmall Tents, placed round that of the Prince, for the uſe of his Officers and Pages, were compriſed within a Circumference of Felt five feet high.

Every

Every thing was prepared for the Campaign: the Troops of Beſſarabia, aſſembled at Kichela, under the Sultan Seraſker, only waited their orders of departure. This was fixed for the ſeventh of January, 1769; and Krim-Gueray left Kaoochan with his Guards, the Sultans permitted to follow him, his Miniſters, his great Officers, and all the Volunteer Mirzas.

The firſt day was ſpent in paſſing the Neiſter. Eight Rafts were prepared for that purpoſe, on which the Baggage had been tranſported over the River, the evening before. We found, alſo, on the oppoſite ſhore, all the Tents erected. The firſt care of the Cham was to aſk where mine were ſituated; and, finding them too far diſtant, gave orders they ſhould be placed nearer his own, in future. He commanded me, likewiſe, not to trouble myſelf about Proviſions, and reſerved to himſelf the care of keeping me during the Campaign. The next day was employed in the Paſſage of the Troops of Beſſarabia.

In the evening I was in the Cham's Tent with ſome Sultans, who were keeping him Company,

Company, when his Viſir came to announce the arrival of the Leſguis Prince, Brother to the Sovereign of thoſe Aſiatic Tartars. He was appointed Ambaſſador in order to render homage to Krim-Gueray, and offer him a ſuccour of thirty thouſand men, for the war. I had the Pleaſure to be by when he was preſented. A ſhort Harangue, pronounced with dignity, explained the object of his Miſſion; and the anſwer of the Cham, accepting the Homage without the Succour, gratified, at once, the Grandeur of the Lord Paramount and the Vanity of the General. The Ambaſſador ſolicited and obtained permiſſion to make the Campaign; and the Ceremony ended, Krim-Gueray, willing to treat him with diſtinction, invited him to Supper.

If we may judge of a Nation by an Ambaſſador of this rank, and by the Perſons who accompanied him, we ought to have an advantageous opinion of the Leſguis. Thoſe I ſaw were tall, well proportioned, had majeſtic Figures, an eaſy Carriage, and a military Air. Their Arms, in imitation of the European, were,

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I obſerved, of perfect Workmanſhip; and I ſhall add, from the Teſtimony of Krim-Gueray himſelf, this ſpecimen was not ſuperior to the Leſguis Troops in general. I have reaſon to believe, alſo, that the Cham would not have refuſed this ſupply, if the Coaſt of the Caſpian Sea, which thoſe People inhabit, might have been, without danger to Cabarta, left without defence.

The cold, which, notwithſtanding the great abundance of Snow, had not yet frozen up the Boriſthenes, ſoon afterwards became ſo ſharp, that the Tartars, on the oppoſite ſhore, could paſs over on the Ice. We had encamped near Tombachar, to wait for them. I paſſed my evenings with Krim-Gueray, whoſe Ideas, often new, were always noble, and always given with a poignancy of manner. It was eſſentially neceſſary to him to give free courſe to a Philoſophic Spirit, for which his Courtiers had little Taſte; our Converſations, therefore, were the ſole Remedy capable of diſpelling the hypochondriac Affections to which he was ſubject. He took great delight in examining the Prejudices which

governed different Nations, diverted himſelf with tracing them to their Source, and bewailed Humanity, while to them he attributed the moſt of its Errors, and its Crimes. Thus did he make a Philoſophic Amuſement of Men's Juſtification.

It is but juſt that I ſhould bear Witneſs to the Talents and Underſtanding of this Prince. I have often heard him reaſon on the influence of Climate, the advantages of Liberty, the principles of Honor, and the laws and maxims of Government, in a Manner that would have done honor to Monteſquieu himſelf.

A great Part of the Troops were already aſſembled, and the effect of thoſe meaſures taken to victual the Army, during the ſtay it was to make at Balta, determined the Cham to go thither. This Town ſtands on the edge of Poland; its Suburbs are in Tartary; and it is become famous by Hoſtilities having commenced there: but, entirely ſtript of Inhabitants, it afforded nothing, at this time, but a Scene of dreadful ravage. The ten thouſand Spahis, ſent by the Porte to join the Tartars, had pre-

ceded us; and, not only laid waſte Balta, but burnt all the neighbouring Villages.

It was with regret that Krim-Gueray led ſuch bad and ill-diſciplined Troops to the Field: he augured ill of their Courage; and the only deference he paid them, was from the good opinion which the Grand Seignior had conceived of them. This Cavalry, accuſtomed to the ſweets and inactivity of a long Peace, not able to endure Fatigue, incapable of reſiſting Cold, and too ill clothed likewiſe to ſupport it, was effectually uſeleſs.

Their Valor was as much ſuſpected by the Cham as their religious Principles are in general. It is unknown whether the Arnaoots (*f*) Timariots (*g*) give the preference to the Koran, or the Goſpel. Dreſſed like a Tartar, I was returning from

(*f*) The people of Turky in Europe, bordering on Sclavonia, are comprehended under the name of Arnaoots.

(*g*) Timariots are poſſeſſors of Fiefs held by military ſervice, and the Timars are particularly attached to the Spahis, who compoſe the Turkiſh Cavalry.

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the Cham one evening, and croſſing the Square of Balta to the lodging allotted me there. Two Spahis, going Home likewiſe, were before me, ſpeaking Greek, curſing their preſent Condition, and ſwearing, by the Holy Croſs, to deſert the firſt opportunity. I inſtantly yielded to a deſire of ſolving this Paradox, increaſed my pace, and joined them with a Mahometan Salutation, which they devoutly returned in Turkiſh. Speaking Greek, I then ſaid, Farewel, Brothers, I am no more a Turk than you are. This adieu was not the way to ſeparate ſo ſoon; they were delighted with me, but were aſtoniſhed to think a Chriſtian might be a Tartar. Unwilling to be known, I invented a Story, and they confeſſed they were only Mahometans to enjoy the privileges of Timariots: this was all I wanted to know.

The army was aſſembled, and the cold became ſo violent, that the field was left open for the Penetration of the Tartars into New Servia. News came that the Army of the Calga had marched towards the Samara, and that of the Nooradin was equally

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in motion; and Krim-Gueray, after correcting his Plan from more recent information, left Balta to go and encamp near Olmar.

This Town, dependent on Tartary, had been burnt, in part, by the Spahis; who finiſhed the work they had begun under the very eyes of the Sovereign. They added to their exceſs the inſolence of coming in a Body to him, and demanding Barley for their horſes, although his own, as well as thoſe of the whole army, were reduced to root under the Snow. The indignation of the Cham was almoſt ready to burſt forth in the moſt cruel manner: he confined it, however, to menaces only, and ſatisfied himſelf with foreſeeing their contemptuous pride would ſoon be reduced, by cold and hunger, to the utmoſt ſubmiſſion.

I had hitherto fed, with the Cham, on freſh proviſions, without any opportunity of judging what our food was to be during the Campaign: but the ſcarcity of Cattle, at Olmar, occaſioned us to have our firſt real Military Supper there. I expected it without uneaſineſs, but not without ap-

petite, when the proper Officers came to lay our Campaign Table. It conſiſted of a large round diſh of Ruſſian Leather, about two feet in Diameter, which was accompanied by two ſacks. From theſe they took excellent Biſcuits and flitches of ſmoked Horſefleſh, concerning the excellence of which our Eulogiums were endleſs. Pootargue, Caviar, (*b*) and dried Raiſins completed the Feaſt.

What do you think of Tartar Cookery, ſaid the Cham, laughing? Dreadful to your enemies replied I. A Page to whom he had juſt whiſpered, came, a moment after, and preſented me the Golden Cup of his Maſter. Taſte my Beverage, likewiſe, ſaid Krim-Gueray. It was excellent Hungary Wine, which he continued to make me partake with him during the whole Campaign.

The Army then purſued its march, and approached the Bog; which we croſſed upon the Ice, to pitch our firſt Camp in the Zaporovian Deſerts. Notwithſtanding the advice which had been given me, I had

(*b*) Fiſh-Spawn, ſalted, but differently prepared.

an Arabian among my Horſes; his powers were exhauſted by the rigor of the Climate, and he dropt down, after having paſſed the River. Before the breath had quite departed his Body, ſome Noguais came to beg him of me. What will you do with a dead Horſe? ſaid I. Nothing, replied one of them, but he is not quite dead: we ſhall have time to kill and eat him, and our feaſt will be delicious, for the Fleſh of a white Horſe is the moſt delicate.

I eaſily granted a requeſt which thus could gratify their appetites; but I will not warrant they arrived ſoon enough to obſerve the Mahometan Law with all the ſcrupulous exactitude it requires.

The cold was become ſo violent, and the Plains we traverſed, having before been burnt, afforded ſo little Paſturage that, after having croſſed the Dead-waters (*i*), it was determined to coaſt along that River and encamp in the midſt of the Reeds, which our Patrols had newly diſcovered. We were in want of them, both for firing

(*i*) A River ſo called, in New Servia.

for ourſelves, and Fodder for our Horſes. The Turkiſh Cavalry, who ſuppoſed, no doubt, they had only to make war on the Villages of Poland, had neither provided Tents nor Proviſions, and were ſubject to the rigors both of cold and hunger. To their firſt imprudence they added that of indiſcreetly approaching the Fire, by which the greateſt number of them were lamed, and pity ſoon ſucceeded to the indignation which their pillage had inſpired. The Cham, being informed that theſe Wretches begged ſubſiſtence at the doors of all the Tents, commanded each Mirza to make a participation of Biſcuit, which was diſtributed among them.

A Hill, which we found on our Route the next day, gave Krim-Gueray a wiſh to aſcend it in order to view all his Troops, at once, as they marched on the open Plain. He commanded them to halt. I followed him on this Eminence, and the dark colour of the Tartar habits, contraſted with the whiteneſs of the ſnow, ſo highly relieved the objects, that each became diſtinct. The Troops of the different Provinces were known

known by their Standards, and I obſerved that, without any determinate order, this Army naturally formed itſelf twenty files deep, and kept together in lines. Each Sultan Seraſker, with his little Court, formed a Group in the Van of his Diviſion. The Centre of the line, occupied by the Cham, preſented a tolerably numerous advanced Body; the Arrangement of which was agreeable and military. Forty Companies, each of forty Horſe, four abreaſt, led the Van, in two Columns, and formed an Avenue, lined on each ſide with twenty Standards. The Maſter of the Horſe, followed by twelve led horſes, and a covered Sledge, marched immediately after, and preceded the Body of Horſe which ſurrounded the Cham. The Standard of the Prophet, carried by an Emir, accompanied by two green Flags, came next, and floated with the Standards of the Inat-Coſſacs, who, joined to the Prince's Guard, brought up the Rear.

This latter Nation, which owes its Poſſeſſions and its name to thoſe Circumſtances that cauſed it to emigrate from Ruſſia, is

ſettled in the Kooban. One Ignatius, more jealous, no doubt, of his Beard than his Liberty, fled from the Razor of Peter I. with numerous Attendants, and took refuge with the Cham. The Tartars found ſuch a reſemblance between the words Inat (infatuated) and Ignatius, that this appellation has remained with them, to ſignify the motive of their emigration. They ſeem not to have taken equal care to preſerve the Purity of their Chriſtian Faith as they have to preſerve its Inſignia in their Colours, and their ſcrupulous attachment to the Privilege of eating Pork. Each of our Inats carried a quarter by way of Portmanteau. The Turks might well think the Standard of the Prophet in bad Company; and I have heard ſeveral mutter their Complaints, and call that prophane and ſacrilegious, which the Tartars had the good ſenſe to think very ſimple and natural.

The reſt of the Army had not the ſame apparent precautions. Eight or ten Pounds of the pounded meal of roaſted Millet, compreſſed in a ſmall leathern bag, and hung at the ſaddle of each Noguai, aſcertained

fifty

fifty days proviſions for the Army. The Horſes only were left to ſubſiſt by their own induſtry, but this was little different to their habitual manner. The means of thus uſing without the trouble of feeding them occaſioned each Tartar to take two or three, ſometimes more, ſo that we had above three hundred thouſand in the Army.

The Cham, pleaſed with the Proſpect before him, aſked the Sultans, if, during the Review, they had diſcovered the braveſt man in the Army. Their ſilence was a ſufficient Anſwer. It is neither you nor I, continued Krim-Gueray, ſmiling, we are all armed: Tott is the only man among us who dares go to War without Arms, and he has not ſo much as a Knife. This pleaſantry ended the Review, and the Army continued its March toward the ſource of the Dead-Waters, where we arrived very late, and fixed our Camp in an immenſe open ſpace, ſurrounded by Reeds.

Krim-Gueray had complained for ſeveral days of a pain in his Thumb; an Abſceſs was forming, and he was feveriſh. There was no Surgeon in the Army. I offered

my ſervices, and by ſubmitting a caſe of Lancets to his inſpection, which I carried to uſe as occaſion required, obtained his confidence, and made an Inciſion, which gave him relief: the fever vaniſhed, the wound healed, and I obtained great Honor, and greater Pleaſure.

After our entrance on the Zaporovian Plains I did not quit the Tent of the Cham. We continued talking together till Midnight; then wrapping himſelf up in his Peliſſe, he laid down, to repoſe, on a Cuſhion, and commanded me to do the like, while two Pages kept up the fire, of which we had great need. But though deſirous I ſhould take ſome reſt, he was not willing I ſhould have too much. This Prince had been accuſtomed to ſleep only three hours, and I ſcarcely could obtain five minutes Grace, while the Coffee was preparing, when, being awakened, without changing my place, I again took the attitude of the over-night.

It was known that the Tent of the Cham had been pitched on the Ice; but it was not diſcovered till the break of day, and

the moment of departing, that the whole Army had encamped upon a Lake, the ſurface of which, perforated in a thouſand places to procure water, threatened to ingulf them all.

Except the Tent of the Cham, the whole was removed, and I was alone with him, when a Poliſh Soldier, belonging to my Suit, entered, like a madman, precipitately towards the fire, and began to undreſs himſelf. Thinking him drunk, or crazy, I ran, and, in order to make him leave the Place, threatened him with the anger of the Cham; but he was unmoved, and only made a Sign deſiring I would let him alone. He had taken his Boots off when Krim-Gueray perceived, by the crackling of his Clothes, that he had fallen into the water. What would you have of this wretch? ſaid he, good naturedly. Is not a dying man independent? He reſpects only him by whom he may be ſuccoured: Kings are nothing to him then. Let us leave him to himſelf. I followed Krim-Gueray, and ordered my People to aſſiſt the Pole.

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The Army, ſtill directing its March towards the North, endeavoured to approach the great Ingul, concerning the ſituation of which, they had only vague Ideas. By a forced March, of twelve leagues, we arrived on the borders of that River, and there pitched our Camp. Some abandoned Habitations and neighbouring Hay-ricks were of great uſe to us.

We were on the Frontiers of New Servia, where the Incurſion was to begin, the effects of which its wretched Inhabitants ſoon muſt feel. A Council of War was held to determine on the Troops neceſſary for that Expedition. While it was aſſembling, a Courier and ſome Priſoners taken by the Patrol, brought intelligence that the Zaporovian Coſſacs, on our right, reſtrained by the Calga Sultan, having demanded and obtained a Neutrality of that Prince, had refuſed all aſſiſtance to the Governor General of Saint-Elizabeth. The Priſoners added, that this Fort, ſituated on the left, contained a ſtrong Garriſon.

Theſe particulars informed the Cham and the Generals what their real Poſition was; and

and it was decided, that a third of the Army, compoſed of Volunteers, commanded by a Sultan and ſeveral Mirzas, ſhould paſs the River, at midnight, divide into ſeveral Columns, ſubdivide ſucceſſively, and, thus, overſpread New Servia, burn the Villages, Corn, and Fodder, and carry off the Inhabitants and Cattle.

It was likewiſe determined that each Soldier, employed in the Incurſion, ſhould have two Aſſociates remaining with the Army; by which arrangement every body would partake of the Booty, without diſputing concerning its Diviſion; and, thus, individual and general Intereſt concurred in ſelecting Soldiers for this Expedition. The Detachment was informed that the reſt of the Army, after paſſing the Ingul on the morrow, would move, by ſhort Marches, towards the Frontiers of Poland, and over awe Saint-Elizabeth, to protect the Foragers, and wait their return.

It might be imagined the Talents of the Spahis for Devaſtation, of which they had given ſuch proof, would make them eager for this Service; but they were ſo far van-

quiſhed,

quiſhed, by the Cold, that none of them would march, except the Serdenguetchety (*k*), and ſome other Turks who followed the Sultan.

The Sultan's Detachment was gone, and the Cold, become leſs rigorous than it was the day before, gave ſuch ſtrong tokens of mildneſs, during the Night, that a Thaw was dreaded. Water began to cover the Ice of the River, and there was no hope of croſſing it, but by haſtening our departure.

The Army was ſoon ready, and, ſtretching along the Ingul, was all in motion at once. The Tartars, accuſtomed to ſimilar Expeditions, kept at a certain diſtance from each other, and croſſed the River on a gentle Trot; but many of the Spahis, whoſe fear made them go heavily, and whom the cracking of the Ice ſo far intimidated, as often to make them ſtop, diſappeared, and were ſwallowed up before our eyes.

(*k*) Turkiſh Troops, whoſe name ſignifies the Forlorn Hope. Volunteers, determined to conquer or die, but who never perform either the one or the other.

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We had halted on the other ſide of the Water, to give the Troops time to form. Some Spahis, eſcaped from the danger which their Cowardice had created, came deploring the fate of their Comrades. One of theſe they particularly regretted, who had juſt ſunk in the River, with a Sum of Money about him, ſufficient to make the Fortune of an Orphan Son. An Inat Coſſac immediately propoſed to go, for two Sequins, and fiſh up the Purſe. His offer was accepted, and he undreſſed himſelf, while they pointed out to him the Hole in the Ice where the Spahi had ſunk. In he plunged, and remained long enough under Water to put the Spectators in pain; but, after a few minutes, he re-appeared with the Treaſure in his hand. This ſucceſs encouraged the Comrades of the Deceaſed. They regretted ſome Piſtols, inlaid with ſilver, and the intrepid Coſſac undertook a ſecond Voyage, ſatisfied their deſires without aſking an Augmentation of his Salary, received his two Sequins, put on his Clothes, and ran and joined his Colours.

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The Army, in order to follow the Plan concerted, marched till it came to the beaten Track, in the Snow, made by the Detachment. This we followed till we arrived at the place where it divided into ſeven Branches, to the left of which we conſtantly kept, obſerving never to mingle, or confuſe ourſelves, with any of the Subdiviſions, which we ſucceſſively found, and ſome of which were only ſmall Paths, traced by one or two Horſemen.

The rainy weather obliged us to halt on the Borders of the Adjemka, where we paſſed the Night; but to the Thaw, which had given us ſome uneaſineſs, a Froſt ſo rapid and ſo ſharp ſucceeded, that it was with difficulty the Tents were folded. Small Hail, blown violently in the face, lacerated the ſkin and made the Noſe bleed; and the blood and breath mingling with the Whiſkers, and freezing, formed Icicles, which, from their weight, became very painful. A great part of the Spahis, maimed in preceding Marches, periſhed that day. The very Tartars found it almoſt inſupportable; but no one durſt complain.

Krim-

Krim-Gueray, who, ſince his Indiſpoſition, travelled in a covered Sledge, amuſed himſelf, while this was paſſing, in aſking me Queſtions concerning the Pope, comparing his own ſituation with that of the Holy Father, and regretting he was not in his Place. I took this opportunity to repreſent what havoc the Cold was making in his Army, and the Danger of a too long March. I cannot make the Weather milder, ſaid he, but I may inſpire Fortitude to ſupport its Severity. He then ordered his Horſe, and, conforming to the Cuſtom that forbids Oriental Sovereigns the uſe of Chales (*l*) in public, which private perſons tie round the Head, he braved the Froſt, and obliged, by his Example, the Sultans, Miniſters, and all around him, to uncover their Heads.

This act of vigour, while it ſtopped Complaints, gave the Prince an opportunity of beholding the Diſtreſs of the Army. Every inſtant Men and Horſes dropped. Flocks were found, frozen to death, on the Plain;

(*l*) Chales (or Shawls) are a kind of Indian Woollen Manufacture of very ſuperior quality and fineneſs.

and

and twenty Columns of Smoak, already riſing in the Horizon, completed the Horrors of the Scene and announced the Fires which laid waſte New Servia (*m*).

Meeting with a little Bruſh-wood and ſome Fodder, the Cham determined to halt. His Tent was pitched near a Hay-rick, which he ordered to be diſtributed, and which, notwithſtanding its enormous ſize, diſappeared in an inſtant. We amuſed ourſelves with this ſight, which, at once, preſented the avidity of Pillage, and the ſeverity of good Order.

A Courier, from the Sultan who commanded the detachment, brought us news from that Prince. We learnt that the Inhabitants of a large Village, having, to the number of twelve Hundred, taken refuge in a Monaſtery, had forced the Aſſailants, by their reſiſtance, to tie ſome lighted Matches to their Arrows, in hopes their Obſtinacy would yield to the Fear of Fire; and that, the Flames having ſpread too rapidly, theſe poor Wretches had been all conſumed. To

(*m*) This day coſt the Army more than 3000 Men and 30,000 Horſes, that all periſhed by the Cold.

the

the Grief which the Sultan expreſſed for this event, he added ſome Complaints on the Cruelty of the Turks who accompanied him, whoſe only courage conſiſts, ſaid he, in bathing their Hands in the Blood of their Priſoners.

Krim-Gueray was not leſs affected by the melancholy Accident of the Fire than the Sultan. The cruelty of the Turks incited his anger and contempt; and, ere he beheld, he revolted at the ſight of heads ſevered from their Bodies (*n*). I would hang a Tartar, ſaid he, who ſhould dare to come like an Executioner into my preſence. How can a Nation ſo ferocious exiſt, as to encourage, by paying, Barbarity; and take pleaſure in objects ſo diſguſting?

A ſucceſſion of Tartars, who already arrived at the Camp, loaded with Booty, brought a ſucceſſion of News, and we ſat up till three in the Morning. Entrance to the Cham might not be forbidden on theſe

(*n*) The Turks are accuſtomed to preſent the heads of their ſlain Enemies to their General. The Tartars, on the contrary, diſdain this cuſtom.

occaſions, and I obtained leave to go to my own Tent, and take a few hours reſt.

Meſſieurs Ruffin and Couſtillier were there; freezing, ſleeping little, and exceedingly hungry. I joined them, wrapped myſelf up in my Peliſſe, partook of a firm Bed of Snow, and went to ſleep. One of the Cham's Pages ſoon after came, half opened the door, announced a Preſent which his Maſter had ſent, placed it at the feet of M. Ruffin, and retired.

M. Couſtillier, who was kept awake by Hunger, did not doubt a moment but that the Preſent was ſomething to eat; and he knew that I debarred his appetite nothing. He was too far off to examine the Packet himſelf, and begged his Comrade would for him; who, being very cold, refuſed a good while, but, obliged at laſt to give way, put his arm out of his Peliſſe, without uncovering his face, took hold of ſomething ſoft, held it up to the light of a lantern ſuſpended from the Roof of the Tent, and preſented the hungry Eye of M. Couſtillier with a human Face. Struck at ſo horrible an Object, he exclaimed—It is a Man's Head!—

Lightning

Lightning could not be more prompt than M. Ruffin was to throw it out of the Tent; curſing at once, Hunger, Cold, and Tartarian Jokes.

The Cold increaſed ſo much, on the morrow, that, notwithſtanding my Gloves lined with Hare-ſkin, my Hands were Froſt-ſeized juſt as I mounted my Horſe, and it was with difficulty I put the Blood once more in Circulation.

The Columns of Smoke, which roſe on our right, and Fort Saint-Elizabeth, which we ſaw on our left, told us what Route we had to take. We directed our March towards a kind of Scaffoldings, in our front, which we preſently found were erected as Fire-ſignals. They were triangular, eight ſtories high, and filled with Straw and Faggots; which could be for no other purpoſe but to ſpread the Alarm on the firſt appearance of the Tartars; they ſerved, however, to guide their Army to Adjemka. In this Town, preſerved from the Ravages of the detachment by being in the neighbourhood of Saint-Elizabeth, we found only few Inhabitants, and ſuſpected the

reſt had taken refuge under the Cannon of that Fort.

The Army was in ſuch a wretched condition that it had every thing to fear from a Sally. Had two or three thouſand men attacked it in the Night they would only have had the trouble of cutting it to pieces. The Danger was evident, as was the impoſſibility of being free from it by continuing a March, the Fatigues of which the Troops were no longer able to ſupport.

In this extremity Krim-Gueray ordered the Sultans and Mirzas to form a Detachment of three hundred Horſe, and go, at Sun-ſet, and inſult Saint-Elizabeth, in order to keep the Garriſon on the defenſive. This ſelect Troop, which included all thoſe whom the vigor of the Mind ſtill kept ſuperior to the dejection of the Body, daringly going and making Priſoners, even in the very Suburbs, ſo well confirmed the ſucceſs of this military Artifice, that the Army remained in ſafety, and recruited itſelf in the midſt of the utmoſt Plenty.

The Town of Adjemka contains eight or nine hundred Families, is ſituated on a ſmall River

River of the ſame Name, and, by the Abundance we found in it, ſpoke the Fertility of its Soil. The Troops, however, were forbid to occupy the Houſes, for fear of a premature Conflagration: they were only allowed to ſupply themſelves with ſuch Wood and Proviſions as they could conſume. The Cham gave them an example, by remaining himſelf in his Tent. The next day's reſt gave them new Strength, and afforded time to a part of the Detachment to rejoin the Army, with Cattle and Slaves out of number, and this ſpread through it univerſal Cheerfulneſs.

I obſerved that the Tartars of each Horde, and each Company, had a By-word, to which their Companions anſwered, and by which they directed each other. Ak-Serai (the White Palace) was uſed by the Suite of the Cham. The utility of this Expedient is eaſily conceived.

The care, the patience, the extreme activity with which the Tartars preſerve their Booty, are ſcarcely credible. Five or ſix Slaves of all ages, ſixty ſheep, and twenty oxen, ſeem not to embarraſs the Man by

whom they have been captured. The Children with their heads out of a bag at the Pommel of the Saddle, a young Girl ſitting before him ſuſtained by his left Arm, the Mother behind, the Father on a led Horſe, the Son on another, the Sheep and Oxen before, all are watched, all managed, nothing eſcapes the vigilant eye of the Conductor. He aſſembles, directs, provides Subſiſtence, walks himſelf to give eaſe to his Slaves; nothing ſeems painful to him, and the picture would be truly intereſting, if Avarice, and the moſt cruel Injuſtice did not furniſh the Subject.

I was ſtanding, enjoying this ſight, without the Tent, in company with the Cham, when an Officer, who was drawing a Line of Circumvallation, came to inform him that a Noguai begged he would hear a Complaint he had to make. Krim-Gueray conſented, and, followed by the Officer, the Noguai advanced; but uncertain, from the conformity of our habits, whom to addreſs, he ſeemed inclined to give me the preference. I was retiring to put an end to his perplexity, when the Cham, perceiving it,

made

made a ſign of ſilence to the Officer, drew back himſelf, and bade me hear what he had to ſay. I learnt from my Noguai, that he had loſt a Horſe, and had ſtolen another in exchange, without the power of juſtifying the Right of Repriſal. What muſt I anſwer, ſaid I to the Cham? What you think proper, replied he, laughing. I then pronounced the Reſtitution of the Theft, and was diſcharging the Plaintiff, when Krim-Gueray, liking the joke, whiſpered me not to forget the Baſtinado, and I inſtantly added to the Noguai, I ſhall forgive thee the puniſhment thou haſt merited. The Cham ſhewed he did not diſapprove my ſentence by a ſign which he made to the Officer to ſee it executed.

All reſearches after the Inhabitants of Adjemka were uſeleſs, till the ſecond day, when, at the moment of departure, the Ricks of Corn and Forage, which concealed theſe poor People, were ſet on fire. Then it was that they came and caſt themſelves into the Arms of their Enemies to eſcape the Flames, which devoured their Harveſts and their Homes. The order to burn Ad-

jemka was executed ſo ſuddenly, and the Blaze caught the thatched Houſes with ſo much violence and rapidity, that we ourſelves, at leaving it, were obliged to paſs through the Flames. The Atmoſphere was loaded with Aſhes and the Vapor of melted Snow, which, after having darkened the Sun for ſome time, united and formed a grey Snow that crackled between our teeth.

A hundred and fifty Villages, which, by being, in like manner, burnt, produced the like Effect, ſent forth their Clouds of Aſhes, twenty leagues into Poland, where our arrival only could explain the Phænomenon. The Army long marched in this obſcurity; nor was it till ſome hours after it happened that the deſertion of a great Party of the Yedeſan Noguais was diſcovered. Their Foragers had rejoined the main Army, and, in hopes to eſcape paying their Tenths to the Sovereign, they had ran all riſks, and returned through the Deſert.

We took our Route towards the Frontiers of the Poliſh Ukraine, which led the Army to Crainikow. This Village, being ſituated

ſituated behind a Marſhy Moat, and containing a kind of Redoubt, in which the Inhabitants had joined about a hundred Soldiers, attempted, at firſt, to make ſome reſiſtance; but the fear of the flames ſoon forced them to fly to a neighbouring Wood, whence their Muſkets could carry as far as the Village. Krim-Gueray, who had advanced to the head of the Wood, commanded the remainder of the Spahis, whom he ordered to the Attack, to diſlodge them; but theſe valiant Fellows, whom the halt at Adjemka, and a ſomewhat leſs ſevere froſt, had already rendered inſolent, fled at the firſt Diſcharge.

The Inat Coſſacs, drawn up behind us, animated by the preſence of their Sovereign, demanded and obtained permiſſion to go to the Attack. They alighted, entered the Wood, ſurrounded the Party within it, and, after killing ſome forty, brought ſuch as had not eſcaped by flight Priſoners.

While this Skirmiſh was going forward, which only coſt the Coſſacs eight or ten men, and ſome trifling wounds to the Tartars who ſtood round the Cham, this

Prince, full of indignation to behold the Cowardice of the Turks, ſpoke to me of and preſaged the diſgrace which the Ottoman Empire was ſoon to ſuffer. Full of this idea, and ſtill on Horſeback at the entrance of the Village, he perceived a Turk, of the race of Emirs, who came out of the Wood on Foot, bringing a head. Do you ſee yonder Scoundrel, ſaid he to me, coming to ſpoil my ſupper? Obſerve him well: he ſcarcely dares touch the Head he has ſevered from the Body.

The Emir arrived, threw down his Trophy before the Cham's Horſe, and emphatically pronounced the vows he had made, that all the Enemies of the Emperor of the Tartars might ſuffer the fate of him whom he had ſo lately exterminated.

Krim-Gueray, however, recollected the face on the ground to have been one of his own Coſſacs. Pitiful Wretch! ſaid he to the Emir, thou kill that Man! Dead, thou art afraid of him, and living, he would have eaten thee. It is one of my Inats, killed at the Attack! Some other, aiding

thee

thee to deceive me, hath cut off his Head; for thou hadſt not the Courage.

The diſconcerted Turk endeavoured to defend himſelf, and inſiſted it was an Enemy whom he had killed.

Search his Arms, ſaid the Prince; and inſtantly his Knife, his Sabre, and his Piſtols were examined; none of which ſhewed any ſigns of having been employed.

Whip me this Poltroon! cried Krim-Gueray; and immediately an Officer of his Guard ſtruck him lightly with his whip, wiſhing thereby to ſatisfy his maſter's anger, and preſerve the poor wretch; but he, proud of his rank of Emir, the ſole privilege of whom, in Turkey, is that the Turban of him who deſerves to be chaſtiſed is reſpectfully taken off, exclaimed againſt the violation committed upon his Perſon.

The fury of the Cham then broke out. Whip the Raſcal's green Turban to rags upon his head, exclaimed he! This Order was pronounced in a tone ſo firm as to admit of no Heſitation, and was executed with a Severity worſe than Death.

This

This example had ſome effect upon the Spahis, who, after having refuſed to partake the fatigues of the Incurſion of the Tartars, watched their return, violently carried off their ſlaves, dragged the poor wretches along for ſome time, and, at laſt, weary of the trouble, in order to get rid of them, cut them to pieces.

The Cham propoſed on the morrow to attack the little Town of Sibiloff, a league and half diſtant, ſituated behind the Wood; but finding, from the report of priſoners, that the Garriſon was too ſtrong to carry the Place without Artillery, he only permitted ſome Volunteers to go thither, while, at the head of his army, he marched towards Boorky in Poland. The Cannon of Sibiloff, which we heard on our Route, could not prevent the Detachment, ſent thither, from burning the Suburbs and carrying off a great number of Slaves.

All the Villages we came to ſuffered the ſame fate; and the Tartars, more diſpoſed to appropriate to themſelves the Inhabitants than to carefully diſtinguiſh the limits of Poland, continued their maraud-

ing

ing far beyond the bounds preſcribed. But, though the ſeverity of the Cham's orders could not, at firſt, impede the craft and avidity of the Tartars from confounding the Inhabitants of New Servia with thoſe of the Poliſh Ukraine, the meaſures this Prince had taken had, at laſt, the deſired effect. Puniſhment was always ſwift to overtake Crimes.

In order to obſerve, with greater certainty, the reſpect due to the Poliſh Republic, the main Army always encamped in the environs of Villages, and eat its own Proviſions; and the Turks, whom they could not avoid quartering in Houſes, having dared to ſet fire to ſome of them, were rigorouſly puniſhed. Conjecture made the number of Slaves, that followed the Army, twenty thouſand; the Cattle was innumerable. We could only take ſhort Marches, and the neceſſity of watching the conduct of the Tartars determined Krim-Gueray to divide the troops into ſeven Columns.

The Spahis occupied the Houſes in every Village, which the Suite of the Cham did not take up, and our Quarters were marked out

out with Chalk. Mine were always ordered to be near thoſe of the Cham. I had peaceably enjoyed this Advantage ſeveral days when an Aly-Bey (*o*), who, no doubt, could not find Lodgings worthy of him in the Village, gravely entered mine, followed by two Spahis, who carried his Baggage.

I aſked him what was his pleaſure? Do not diſturb yourſelf, ſaid he, with great compoſure; then ſat himſelf down, in a kind of Alcove, between two Cuſhions, which he did not offer to quit, but called for his Pipe. In vain did I obſerve to him that theſe were my Quarters, that we could not both occupy them at once, and that I might not remove far from the Cham, nor he from his Regiment. Argument had no effect upon him; he had taken his Seat, and was immoveable. I then reſolved to ſend to the Selictar, and beg of him to rid me of this diſagreeable Gueſt.

The Selictar preſently came, on a pretended viſit, and aſked, as he entered, how

(*o*) Colonel of the Arnaoot Spahis.

long

long I had known the Colonel; who, without being diſconcerted, replied, he was come to ſeek my acquaintance by lodging with me. You ought to have ſought our acquaintance, ironically replied the Captain of the Guards, at the Attack of the Wood; you would then have been well received; but at preſent you muſt retire, leſt the Cham, informed of your proceeding, ſhould take this occaſion to ſhow the diſcontent he harbours. I know his Power, replied the Officer; a word from him is ſufficient to diſpoſe of my Head; he may pronounce it; but, living, I will not leave this place till the Army marches. This was his laſt reſolve, which nothing could ſhake.

Enraged at this Lunatic, the Selictar left me, to inform Krim-Gueray of what paſſed, from whom I preſently received an invitation to come to his Tent. I found him giving Orders, the ſeverity of which made me tremble. Long exaſperated at the want of Diſcipline and Cowardice of the Turks, the inſolence of this Aly-Bey rouſed up all his anger, and he had only ſent for me, in fact, that I might not be

preſent

preſent at the puniſhment going to be inflicted. He wiſhed to make all the Spahis ſenſible of his Rigor, and was only reſtrained by the fear of being ſuſpected partial.

While he heſitated, on this account, I determined to do every thing in my power to divert the blow, and leave the Colonel in peace, whoſe device was not VANQUISH OR DIE; but, SLEEP OR DIE. I pretended that my Complaint had been ill explained, and that I ought to be heard, and contrived to divert the Cham ſo much, on the ridiculous obſtinacy of the Arnaoots, that, among the multitude of Grievances, mine diſappeared. The order was, accordingly, revoked, under the obliging condition that I ſhould remain with the Cham.

The Army, loaded with the Spoils of New Servia, regulated its March by that of the Cattle, and ſlowly approached the Frontiers; while the Tartars, ever inſatiable, were only induſtrious to deceive the Cham's Vigilance, by adding to their Booty, though marauding was prohibited under the moſt ſevere Penalties.

The

The brown colour of the Tartar Dreſs was ſeen too far in the Snow to favor the Artifice of the Pillagers. Some Noguais, however, had detached themſelves to gain a Poliſh Village, behind which they were about to hide, when the Cham, marching along the ſkirt of a wood, on high ground that overlooked the Plain, perceived them. He immediately commanded a Halt, and ordered his Selictar to go in perſon, with four Seimens, ſcower the Village, and bring him ſuch Noguais as ſhould be found in actual delinquency. The gloomy Air with which the Cham gave this Order beſpoke Puniſhment.

Already the Selictar, who had flown to execute the Cham's Command, returned, bringing a Noguai; on whom a piece of Cloth and two balls of worſted were found. Interrogated by his Sovereign, the Culprit confeſſed his fault, allowed he knew with what rigor it was forbidden, pleaded nothing in its favor, aſked no pity, endeavoured to intereſt no one in his behalf, but coolly waited his Sentence without diſcovering either Timidity or Pride.

Let him alight, and be tied to a Horſe's tail; there let him be dragged till he expires; and let a Crier accompany him to inform the Army why he is thus puniſhed.

The Cham pronounced this ſentence, and the Noguai, without replying, quitted his Horſe, and went to the Seimens, by whom he was to be tied.

Neither Cord nor Thong was to be found, and, while they were in ſearch of ſome, I ventured a word in his behalf. Krim-Gueray made no anſwer, but by impatiently commanding them to make uſe of a Bow-ſtring. They objected that it was too ſhort. Let him put his head through the Bow bent, ſaid he. The Noguai obeyed, followed the Horſeman, who dragged him, but not able to go faſt enough, fell, and eſcaped from the hold.

A new order from the Prince remedied the accident. Let him hold the Bow with his hands, cried he, and the Culprit immediately croſſing his arms, this ſentence was performed! A Sentence which condemned the Malefactor to be his own Executioner; and which, without doubt, is an

inſtance of the moſt extraordinary ſubmiſſion! It ſurpaſſes all that has been related, moſt ſtrange, concerning the blind obedience paid to the orders of the old Man of the Mountain (*p*).

The cares of Krim-Gueray, to maintain good order in Poland, extended even to the Religion of the Inhabitants; and ſome Noguais, convicted of having mutilated a Picture of Chriſt, received a hundred Strokes at the Church-door. The Tartars muſt be taught to reſpect the Prophets, and the fine Arts, ſaid he.

Savran (*q*) was the wiſhed for place, at which the ſpoil was to be divided, the different Hordes ſent home (the Troops of Beſſarabia excepted) and ourſelves diſencumbered of the crowd by which we were environed. Here it was decided to reſt, and the Diviſion of the Booty began, the day after our arrival: nor could the ex-

(*p*) M. Ruffin, who accompanied us, and who at preſent is Profeſſor in the College-Royal, was a Witneſs of this incredible Fact.

(*q*) A Town of Poland in the Palatinate of Bruklaw.

actitude with which it was made hinder ſome of them from cheating the Cham of the Tythe, which was his due out of their part of the Spoils. Notwithſtanding theſe Frauds, the Prince had ſtill near two thouſand Slaves, whom he diſtributed to whoever came firſt. I was neceſſarily preſent on theſe occaſions, and, a witneſs of the Cham's liberality, repreſented to him, if he continued it thus, his means would ſoon be exhauſted.

KRIM-GUERAY.

There will always remain enough for me, my friend; my time is paſt; but I have not forgotten you. Diſtant from your Haram, traverſing Deſerts, and defying Cold with us, it is but juſt you ſhould have your part. I reſerved ſix handſome Youths for you; ſuch, indeed, as I ſhould have choſen for myſelf.

THE BARON.

I am overwhelmed by your Bounties; but is he worthy of a favor who is not conſcious of its value? I am afraid I ſhall not

not annex the ſame worth to it as your Highneſs ſeems to think it deſerves.

KRIM-GUERAY.

I pretend not to bargain for your Gratitude. I give you the Slaves; they will pleaſe you; that is all I deſire.

THE BARON.

But your Highneſs has forgot there is an invincible obſtacle in the way. Your Slaves are all Ruſſians, and how may I accept the Subjects of a Sovereign who is in friendſhip with the Emperor my Maſter?

KRIM-GUERAY.

That reaſon might well eſcape me, ſince I cannot perceive on what Principle it is founded. War makes Slaves, Friendſhip gives and Friendſhip receives them, which is all our Concern. Not that I ſhall diſcuſs your Duties; it is for you to fulfil them; and, to remove this objection, I will ſend you ſix Georgians inſtead of the ſix Ruſſians, and all will be right.

THE BARON.

Not ſo right as your Highneſs ſuppoſes; there ſtill is an Objection hard to remove.

KRIM-GUERAY.

What is that?

THE BARON.

My Religion.

KRIM-GUERAY.

Oh, I ſhall be careful not to meddle with that ſubject. You do right, no doubt, to conform to it; but you will at leaſt own it is painful.

THE BARON.

I will own more; I will own that human Weakneſs often wanders from its precepts. It is poſſible I ſhould not have been ſo ſcrupulous at preſent, and ſo attached to my Duty, but that your Offer is no temptation to err. Six pretty Girls might have made me forget my principles; and, were we always to examine ſcrupulouſly, we ſhould often find the ſublimeſt efforts of

Virtue

Virtue to depend on the nature of the temptation.

KRIM-GUERAY.

I underſtand all that perfectly; nor would this mode of ſeduction have eſcaped me could I have employed it; but I, my Friend, have my Religion likewiſe; which permits me to give male Slaves to the Chriſtians, but commands me to keep the female in order to make them Converts.

THE BARON.

Is then the Converſion of men leſs to be deſired than that of Women?

KRIM-GUERAY.

Certainly not; but our great Prophet foreſaw every thing, of which this diſtinction is a proof.

THE BARON.

I own to your Highneſs I cannot diſcover his motives; and you will permit me ſimply to believe that the pretty Girls pleaſe you beſt.

KRIM-GUERAY.

Not at all, I aſſure you; I act but in obedience to a moſt reaſonable law. Man,

being, by his nature, independent, even in Slavery, preſerves a force which Fear ſcarcely can conſtrain. He is conſcious of his Power, is governed by his Underſtanding, and God only can convince that Underſtanding. His Conviction may be as ſtrong as either your's or mine. The Converſion of ſuch a Man is always a Miracle; while that of Women, on the contrary, is the moſt natural and ſimple thing poſſible. They are always of their Lover's Religion. Love, my Friend, is their grand Miſſionary; when he appears, they never diſpute.

'Neither did I diſpute on ſo ſtrange an Aſſertion, which, to be ſure, can only be applicable to Women in Slavery.

After having diſtributed moſt of the Slaves, which fell to his ſhare, and ſent away the Noguais, the Cham directed his March towards Bender: but, though the diminution of his Troops promiſed greater ſwiftneſs in their motions, the Prince's Generoſity had thrown a new Impediment in the way of that quick return which he deſired. The Sultans and Miniſters, who, hitherto, had only had mere Campaign equi-

page,

page, received a ſuperfluity from their Maſter which would not permit them to proceed with the ſame celerity. The Kadi-Leſker, who was the moſt inſatiable, as well as the moſt artful, of them, had ſucceeded accordingly. Curious to examine him in the midſt of his Abundance, I went to viſit him one evening.

This great Judge, venerable from his Age and white Beard, careleſsly ſtretched on the Carpet of Five Prayers, with covetous eye and waggiſhly ſarcaſtic ſmile, was, there and then, contemplating ſome forty Slaves, of all ages, who, aſſembled near a ſtove, formed a Group of both Sexes, whoſe eyes were all fixed on their Maſter. I give you joy, ſaid I, entering, of the ſucceſs of a War of which, it ſeems, you have had your ſhare.

THE KADI-LESKER.

You ſee the Cham has treated me well: but you know likewiſe, one muſt employ one's Riches to enjoy them; and I find that difficult.

THE BARON.

If, however, I may believe the principles of the Cham, reſpecting the Converſion of Women,

Women, he depends upon you for a good many Proſelytes.

THE KADI-LESKER.

I was examining, when you came, who among all theſe was the moſt agreeable; give me your opinion, and let us ſee if we ſhould make the ſame choice.

THE BARON.

I have decided already: that pretty Girl, ſitting on yonder bench, with an eaſy ſhape, a modeſt carriage, and a mild countenance, has my Suffrage.

THE KADI-LESKER.

I ſhall give mine to that round faced, cherry-cheeked little fellow; and I engage the young Rogue will look charmingly, dreſſed like a Page. I even confeſs that the eaſy ſhape, ſo ſeductive to you, appears to me to want plumpneſs.

THE BARON.

I am ſorry for you, as ſhe is the only one, here, who can be reproached with that defect. But I ſee ſome exceedingly young:

can

can you tell me at what age you begin their Converſion; and whether the Noguais, whoſe promptitude at running away with Girls I am well acquainted with, are not apt to marry them too ſoon?

THE KADI-LESKER.

No; the Tartars, on the contrary, are very ſcrupulous in that reſpect.

THE BARON.

Be they as ſcrupulous as they will, Sir, they cannot interrogate their Slaves reſpecting their Age; and that knowledge would not even be ſufficient.

THE KADI-LESKER.

They have, therefore, a better method to ſatisfy their Conſcience. It is this; if the Powers of a young Girl appear dubious, they pretend to be vexed at her, frighten, and oblige her to fly: while ſhe is running they throw one of their Bonnets at her, the ſhock of which, without being dangerous, is ſufficient to make her fall, if ſhe be feeble. In this caſe they reſpect her tender years, comfort her for her fall, and patiently

ently wait till ſhe is ſtrong enough to ſtand the Proof.

THE BARON.

I know not how effectual your proof may be: but ſuppoſing it ſo, will you anſwer for the ſincerity of thoſe by whom it is employed?

THE KADI-LESKER.

We may ever warrant that Cuſtoms are more faithfully obſerved, among a ſimple People, than the moſt ſevere Laws are, in Poliſhed Nations.

A ſudden kind of Illneſs, which I felt at this moment, and which I attributed to the ſtifling heat of the Kadi-Leſker's Chamber, determined me to quit it, and go home; but the immediate change of air, from ſuch an Atmoſphere to exceſſive cold, had an effect ſo ſtrong upon me that I fell down, ſenſeleſs, on the Snow. I had been there ſome time, when one of the Judge's Servants, ſeeing me, went and informed his Maſter. The aſſiſtance, which he was anxious to afford me, would have had little ſucceſs, if Krim-Gueray, who had been told

of

of the Accident, had not ſent me one of his Pages with ſome Eau-de-Luce which I was made to inhale. I was too feeble, notwithſtanding this ſuccour, to walk to my Quarters, whither four Tartars carried me; and the terror in which I beheld Meſſieurs Ruffin and Couſtilliers, by exciting my Senſibility, animated my Spirits likewiſe.

We arrived the next day at Bender, and, when we were at ſome diſtance from the Town, perceived the Governor coming to meet us. At the Cham's approach, this Viſir, followed by numerous Attendants, alighted, as did the reſt of the Company, advanced towards the Cham, made a profound Salute, and turned back, to walk before him, on foot. After this Teſtimony of Reſpect, he received permiſſion to remount his Horſe, and accompany Krim-Gueray to the Nieſter, which ſeparated us from the Fortreſs.

Here we ſaw a Bridge of Boats, which the Pacha had built, with the more difficulty inaſmuch as he was obliged to break the Ice, with which the River ſtill was covered.

covered. This mark of Attention, by which he hoped to make his Court to the Cham, had but little Succeſs; all the entreaties of the Viſir could not prevail on this Prince to profit by it. I paſs Rivers, ſaid he, in a more œconomical manner. He then ſpurred his Horſe to a gentle Trot, and forced the Pacha, who ſhuddered with Terror at this kind of Gaiety, to follow his example. The cracking of the Ice, which ſplit under us, might well make him regret his Bridge of Boats; nor was he convinced of its inutility, till he had arrived on the oppoſite ſhore.

While we were croſſing, the Cannon began the ſalute, and Krim-Gueray entered Bender to the ſound of its whole Artillery. His Head Quarters were fixed at the Governor's, where he remained to diſband his Troops, and till his Houſe at Kaoochan was prepared for his reception. We were all equally ſatisfied on our arrival at this place of repoſe, after the fatigues of the Campaign.

The News, which was received from Conſtantinople, of the Ottoman Army being about

about to depart, and approach the Danube, did not, however, promiſe long inaction to the Tartars. In the midſt of Pleaſures, in which Krim-Gueray delighted to unbend, he had already been careful in giving orders to aſſemble new Troops; and thought it neceſſary to approach Kotchim, himſelf, in order to keep thence the Grand Viſir. The Ignorance of this firſt Miniſter's Conduct had need of an Opponent as powerful and enlightened as the Cham, who, we have already obſerved, was not favourably diſpoſed towards Emin Pacha. The latter, more circumſpect in his diſſatisfaction, and obliged to conceal the means he had of ſhewing it, was, therefore, only an Enemy the more dangerous.

In the midſt of theſe Occupations Krim-Gueray had frequently hypochondriac affections, to which he was ſubject. Being alone with him, during one of theſe attacks, under which he was impatient, I endeavoured to perſuade him from taking the remedies of Empirics, when a man, named Siropolo, by whom theſe remedies had already been propoſed to him, entered the

the Apartment. This man, born at Corfoo, was of the Greek Church, a great Chymiſt, Phyſician to the Prince of Walachia, and his Agent in Tartary. Having, thus, a right to approach the Cham, he did not let this occaſion ſlip of offering the aſſiſtance of his Art, and aſſerted that a ſingle Doſe, no way diſagreeable to the taſte, would perform a radical Cure. On this condition I give my Conſent, ſaid the Prince; and the Phyſician went to prepare his Medicine.

My fears were ſo viſible that Krim-Gueray, perceiving them, ſmiled. How! ſaid he, my friend; are you frightened? Undoubtedly! replied I, emphatically. Examine that Man's ſituation, examine your own, and judge if I am wrong. Ridiculous, ſaid he; wherefore this diſtruſt! A glance is ſufficient; look at him and look at me, then tell me how far this Infidel would dare.

In vain did I employ the moſt paſſionate remonſtrances till the arrival of the Remedy. The promptitude with which it diſſipated the Cham's indiſpoſition did but add

add to my Terrors. The morrow increaſed my ſuſpicions; he was ſo weak he ſcarcely could appear in public; but the artful Phyſician declared it a ſalutary criſis, deſcribed the Symptoms as they followed, and warranted a Cure.

Krim-Gueray, however, was confined to his Haram; and, juſtly terrified at his ſituation, and the ſecurity of his Miniſters, I, by communicating my Fears, determined them to ſummons Siropolo, and ſignify to him that his life depended on that of their Maſter.

This Chymiſt knew his Judges too well to believe that their Ambition would occupy itſelf more about the Deceaſed than his Succeſſor; and their Menaces gave him no Inquietude.

I had loſt all hope, and never expected more to ſee the Cham, when he ſent for me to come and ſpeak to him. I was introduced into his Haram, where I found ſeveral of his women, whoſe grief, and the general Conſternation, had made them forget to retire. I entered the Apartment where the Cham lay. He had juſt termi-

nated various Affairs with his Divan-Effendi (r). He pointed to the Papers that ſurrounded him. Behold, ſaid he, my laſt labor, to you I have devoted my laſt Moment. But ſoon perceiving that all my Efforts could not ſubdue the Grief by which I was overwhelmed—Let us part, ſaid he; your ſenſibility is catching, and I wiſh to go to ſleep more gaily. He then made a Sign to ſix muſicians, at the farther end of the Apartment, to begin their Concert; and I learnt, an Hour after, that this unfortunate Prince had juſt expired to the ſound of Inſtruments.

I need not deſcribe the regret his loſs occaſioned, nor the ſevere affliction I myſelf felt. Grief was univerſal; and even Terror ſo far ſeized the minds of men, that thoſe who, the evening before, thought they ſlept in perfect ſecurity, already believed the Enemy at their Gates.

While the aſſembled Divan diſpatched Couriers, appointed a Sultan Regent, and took meaſures for the Funeral of Krim-Gueray, Siropolo obtained, without diffi-

(r) Secretary of the Council.

culty,

culty, the Paſſport and Poſt-Billet neceſſary, and tranquilly retired to Walachia. Yet Symptoms of Poiſon were manifeſt, on the embalming of the Body; but the preſent Intereſt of the Parties ſtifled all Ideas of vengeance, or puniſhment of the Culprit. The Corpſe of the Cham was removed to the Crimea, in a mourning Coach, drawn by ſix Horſes, covered with black Cloth. Fifty Horſemen, a number of Mirzas, and a Sultan, who commanded the Eſcort, were likewiſe in black; and it is a remark that, through all the Eaſt, this Cuſtom is only common to the Tartars.

The great Fatigues I had ſo long ſupported, added to the incertitude I was thrown into by the Event, eaſily made me yield to the Wiſh I had to go to Conſtantinople, and there wait the orders my Superiors ſhould think proper to ſend me. One part of my Houſehold was ſtill at Bactcheſeray, the other I had left at Kaoochan, where M. Ruffin remained, to tranſact Buſineſs; and I departed, with my Secretary, a Surgeon, a Servant, and the Bachi-

Tchoadar of the Cham, who was furniſhed with the orders neceſſary to conduct me.

I was dreſſed as a Tartar. Our Equipage was Analagous, for it ſcarcely loaded a Horſe, which the Poſtillion led. Notwithſtanding the long trot of the Tartars, the diſtance of Relays reduced our firſt day's Journey to fifteen Leagues. We arrived before dark at a Village in Beſſarabia, at which my Conductor intended we ſhould ſleep. He ſtopped in the midſt of an open Place, ſurrounded by Houſes, where, I remarked, each Inhabitant ſtood at his door, with eyes fixed on us, while the Tchoadar, looking round, examined them one after another.

Where are we to lodge? ſaid I: I do not ſee that any one cares. You are miſtaken, anſwered he. Every Body is waiting and wiſhing for the Preference: whoſe-ever Houſe you ſhall pleaſe to fix upon, you will make the Maſter happy.

During this diſcourſe, I obſerved an old man, ſtanding, ſingly, before his door. His Venerable Air intereſted me. The lot fell upon him, and no ſooner was this Choice made

made than all the Inhabitants re-entered their Houſes. The ardor of my new Hoſt expreſſed his Satisfaction; and, as ſoon as he had ſhown me into a clean lower Apartment, he brought his Wife and Daughter, both with their Faces uncovered (s); the firſt carrying a Baſon and a Pitcher,

(s) We may obſerve that the Law of Namckrem, of which I have ſpoken in my Preliminary Diſcourſe, is not ſcrupulouſly obſerved by the Tartar Women. We ought alſo to remark that theſe People have many Cuſtoms which ſeem to indicate the Origin of thoſe that are analagous to them among us. May we not alſo trace the motive of the nuptial Crown, and the Comfits which are uſed at the Marriages of Europeans, in the manner in which the Tartars portion out their Daughters? They cover them with Millet. In the Origin of Society, Seed Grain muſt neceſſarily be the repreſenting Token of all Wealth. A Diſh, of about a foot in Diameter, was placed on the Head of the Bride; over this a veil was thrown, which covered the Face, and deſcended to the Shoulders; Millet then was poured upon the Diſh, which, falling and ſpreading all round her, formed a Cone with a Baſe, correſponding to the height of the Bride. Nor was her Portion complete till the Millet touched the Diſh, while the Veil gave her the Power of reſpiration. This Cuſtom was not

Pitcher, and the ſecond a Napkin, which ſhe ſpread over my hands after I had waſhed them.

Pre-informed, by my Conductor, I ſubmitted, without difficulty, to what Hoſpitality dictated to theſe good People. After ordering ſupper, and leaving the care of preparing it to the Women, the old Man, who, till then, had ſuppoſed me a Mirza, undeceived by the Tchoadar, came immediately to beg I would excuſe the ſmall means he had of receiving me properly. My Anſwer made him eaſy, and, as I wiſhed to queſtion him on the ſurrounding Objects, I obliged him to ſit down, ſmoke, and partake of ſome Coffee which my Servant brought.

This little Civility, which a Mirza would certainly not have paid my Hoſt,

favourable to ſmall People, and, at preſent, they eſtimate how many meaſures of Millet a Daughter is worth. The Turks and Armenians, who make their Calculations in money, ſtill preſerve the Diſh and the Veil, and throw Coin upon the Bride, which they call ſpilling the Millet. Have not the Crown and the Comfits the ſame Origin?

confirmed

confirmed him in his Inclination. I then deſired him to tell me why, with a view, ſolely, of exerciſing Hoſpitality, they ſubjected themſelves to a Cuſtom the inconvenience of which he, at preſent, found; and which might ruin the moſt wealthy individual, if, by chance, the Choice of Travellers ſhould frequently light upon him only.

THE OLD MAN.

I feel, in the preference you have given me, nothing but the pleaſure of having obtained it. We conſider the exerciſe of Hoſpitality as a Benefit; and, ſhould any one conſtantly enjoy that advantage, he would only make others jealous; but we do not permit the uſe of any means which might determine the Choice of Travellers. Our eagerneſs to come to our Doors is only to prove that our Houſes are inhabited; their uniformity preſerves an equality, and my good Star, alone, has procured me the Happineſs of having you for my Gueſt.

THE BARON.

Pray tell me, would you treat the firſt Comer with the ſame humanity?

THE OLD MAN.

The only diſtinction we make is to go and meet the wretched, whom Miſery always renders timid: in this caſe, the pleaſure of aſſiſting him is the right of the Perſon who firſt arrives.

THE BARON.

The Law of Mahomet cannot be fulfilled with greater exactitude; but the Turks obſerve not the Koran ſo faithfully.

THE OLD MAN.

Nor do we believe that, in exerciſing our Hoſpitality, we obey this divine Book. We are men before we are Mahometans. Humanity has dictated our Cuſtoms, and they are more ancient than the Law.

THE BARON.

You have ſome, however, I remark, which are modern. This four poſt Bedſtead

ſtead for example, the Teſter, the Bed, that Table, theſe Chairs, pray are theſe Tartar Furniture, or, are they only to be found in your Houſe (*t*)?

THE OLD MAN.

We have no knowledge of any other.

THE BARON.

I am the more aſtoniſhed at that, ſince the Moldavians and Turks have not the like; and I ſcarcely can conceive by what

(*t*) The form of the Tartar Beds, above cited, as well as the Throne of the Grand Seignior, which always repreſents a four poſt Bedſtead, have a ſimiliarity which may appear intereſting. If we conſider that the firſt Governments were neceſſarily paternal, and that the Tartars afford, in this as well as in many other matters, the moſt ancient Annals, we ſhall not be aſtoniſhed that the form of the Bed, on which their Elders ought naturally to give Judgment, has been adopted as a Model for the Thrones of the Eaſt. If we add to this Remark the Invaſion of all Europe, by People originally Tartars, we ſhall find an Explanation of the Term *Bed of Juſtice* *, always employed when the power of Sovereign Majeſty is fully exerted.

* *This Term,* BED OF JUSTICE, *is, we believe, peculiar to the French Laws.* T.

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Route theſe European Cuſtoms could arrive hither. Why have not you adopted, as well as your Brothers of the Crimea, the Furniture of the Turks?

THE OLD MAN.

You may ſee ſome Cuſhions here, which were things unknown to our Fathers: but Depravity cannot make the ſame Progreſs in theſe Parts as in the Crimea, where our Sultans give the Example of the Turkiſh Effeminacy to which they have been accuſtomed in Romelia.

THE BARON.

I perfectly feel this diſtinction, but it throws no light on the Origin of the European furniture I find here.

THE OLD MAN.

Yet nothing can better mark that Origin you are ſo deſirous to know. This Family Furniture cannot be European; we are the Root of the Tree; it is your Furniture which is Tartarian.

This Anſwer ſerved but to excite my curioſity. I multiplied my Queſtions, and had

had the pleaſure to hear my Hoſt repeat all that I had myſelf already conjectured on this Subject. He informed me, alſo, that the Tartars, near the Caſpian Sea, and thoſe beyond it, preſerve the ſame Cuſtoms.

A deſire to lie the next night on the Banks of the Danube obliged us to ſet off very early in the Morning. My Hoſt, at my departure, ſhewed himſelf faithful to his principles; it was impoſſible to make him receive the Preſent with which I would gratefully have acknowledged the reception he had given me.

We arrived at Iſmahel (*u*), and I could not behold the oppoſite ſide of the Danube without remembering that Turkiſh Arrogance which I ſhould have to encounter on the morrow. The influence of Neighbourhood was already perceptible, and the intercourſe of Commerce, between the Turks and Tartars, no longer afforded that Goodneſs, that frank Simplicity which characteriſes the latter. Far from finding

(*u*) A Town of Beſſarabia, on the Left of the Danube, near its Mouth.

obliging

obliging and anxious Hoſts, we had here no other reſource than the covetous Induſtry of Jews, whom the thirſt of Gain always brings to every place where they can find Money and Admiſſion.

To the advantage which the Town of Iſmahel enjoys, of ſerving as a Magazine for the ſending Corn down the Danube, is added a ſpecies of Induſtry peculiar to itſelf; which is, the manufacturing of Shagreen Skins, called by us, Turkiſh Shagreen. Here are places round the Town ſet apart for dreſſing theſe Skins. At firſt, they are worked like Parchment, are ſuſtained in the Air, horizontally, by four Poles, and diſpoſed to receive the Impreſſion of a very aſtringent little Grain, with which they are covered; after ſtanding a certain time, they are found perfectly prepared and finiſhed.

We had two Arms of the River to croſs, and the Boat tranſported us to the intermediate Iſle ſomewhat before break of day. This Iſle we traverſed on a Diagonal of four Leagues, towards the ſecond Arm of the River, oppoſite Tultcha, a Turkiſh Fortreſs, ſituated a little below the Confluence,

ence. We took freſh Horſes, and continued our Route, through a Foreſt, in which the Poſtillion adviſed us to be upon our Guard; but it ſeemed to me that five Tartars could not excite the Avidity of the Governor's Son, and ſome Lords of his own age, who, according to our Guide, amuſed themſelves with plundering Paſſengers.

We thought ourſelves out of the reach of their Pranks, when, leaving the Wood, we met a Horſeman, well dreſſed and mounted, and followed by a Ruffian, both armed with ridiculous profuſion. Two Carbines, two Sabres, three pair of Piſtols, and three or four large Knives, perſuaded each of theſe Men they were very formidable. To theſe ſtrange warlike Accoutrements they added an Inſolence of manner, intended, no doubt, to impoſe on timid People, and whence they might judge if it were, or were not, ſafe to attack them.

When we came up we ſaluted them civilly, and their firſt Act of Hoſtility was to make no reply. Judging by our Gentleneſs, in receiving this Species of Inſult, that a few Bravadoes would render us perfectly

ſoftly tractable, he of the Raſcals who appeared to be the Maſter, took a Piſtol from his Arſenal, ſpurred his Horſe, and caracoled by our ſide.

Tired at laſt of obſerving the means this Fellow took to inſpire Fear, and reflecting, likewiſe, that his opinion of our timidity might lead him to ſome act which might oblige us to kill him, I thought it moſt prudent to get rid of him by rectifying his Ideas. Accordingly, with my Piſtol in my hand, I detached myſelf from my Company, and fidled up to him in the midſt of his Gambols. Aſtoniſhed at this Conduct, he ſlackened his Evolutions. Your Horſe ſeems well taught, ſaid I, laughing; if he is of a good Breed he will ſtand Fire: let us ſee. I immediately fired my Piſtol over the Animal's Head; he reared, and his Rider was obliged to throw down his Arms and hold by the Mane: off fell his Bonnet, and there I left him, in that ſort of Diſorder which ſufficiently corrected his Vanity, and which peaceably permitted us to purſue our way.

After traverſing the Plains of Dobrodgan (*x*), I obſerved the Land gradually aſcend towards the foot of the Mountains, which lay between us and Thrace, and that it every where contained Beds of Marble, which ſerved as a Baſis to the Balkan (*y*). We entered theſe Mountains by a Strait, whence ran the Kamtchikſoöy (the River of the Whip). This Torrent, conſtantly ſupplied by Sources of running Water, and turned, in its Courſe, from one Rock to another, meandered ſo much that it obliged us to croſs it ſeventeen times before we came to the end of the Valley; where we began to climb the Mountains by Roads the moſt difficult.

We ſtopped all night at a Village about half-way up, and were going to take ſome reſt when we were diſturbed by the noiſe of

(*x*) A Province of Turky in Europe, between the Danube and the Mountains of Thrace; celebrated for a ſmall Breed of Horſes, which the Turks very much eſteem, becauſe they will all amble.

(*y*) Balkan is a Name which the Turks give the Mountains of Thrace; and, in general, to all high Chains of Mountains.

a nu-

a numerous Cavalcade. This was the Retinue of the new Calga Sultan, Brother of Dewlet-Gueray, whom the Porte had named as Succeſſor to Krim-Gueray, on the Throne of the Tartars.

No ſooner had this Prince, who thought me ſtill at Kaoochan, learnt that I was in the ſame Village than he ſent to deſire I would come to ſee him. He told me the Ottoman Army had begun its March, and, after regretting we were going different Routes, ended by engaging me to turn a little out of my Road to go to Seray (z), and ſee the new Cham his Brother. He is preparing for his departure, added he, and will prevail on you to return to us. I hope he will teach you to forget a loſs you think irreparable.

I did not think it eaſy to replace Krim-Gueray, but I had little difficulty in reſolving to viſit the Appanages of the Tartar Sultans, in order to complete my Obſervations, on what concerns thoſe People, by obſerving how they live in Romelia.

(z) Seray is a Town in Romelia, in the Appanage of the Tartar Sultans.

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We had ſtill to croſs the higheſt Chain of the Mountains of Balkan, and the Aſpect of their different Strata, and the Variety of the Rocks, which Nature ſeems to have broken, with effort, only to afford indications of the Treaſures ſhe there incloſes, preſented, at each ſtep, thoſe great Characters which extend our ideas on her Origin, and lead us to contemplate her Works with ſtill greater ardor and Intereſt. Among theſe Mountains I ſaw the Ruins of antient Houſes, and obſerved numerous Excavations, ſimilar to thoſe I had remarked in the Crimea, and which, no doubt, there, as elſewhere, are monuments of Tyranny.

Arrived at the higheſt Region of theſe Mountains, we, there, found Violets in abundance, the Roots and Leaves of which, in part concealed by the Snow, formed a natural Carpet not leſs aſtoniſhing than delightful.

Continuing our Route, we joined that which had been lately cut for the Ottoman Army, towards Yſſakchai, and which was only pointed out by the felling of Trees, the Trunks of which, left ſtanding two feet

above Ground, for the eaſe of the Work-men, promiſed but little facility to the Artillery, which was to paſs that way. Two ſmall hills, raiſed on the right and left, and repeated at certain diſtances, always within ſight of each other, were the only marks, in the Plains, of the Army's Route, which I quitted at Kirk-Kiliſſia: the Forty Churches.

While they were ſeeking me Horſes, which were not to be had at the Poſt-Houſe, the Turkiſh Poſtmaſter endeavoured to conſole me for this Delay, politely invited me in, and, after giving Orders to make the Coffee thick (*a*), preſented me a Pipe in the mean while; and, to make the Regale complete, moſt civilly added a ſmall morſel of Aloes Wood. This done, my Hoſt, throwing the blame of not having Horſes ready on the Government, began to

(*a*) An Expreſſion which the Turks make uſe of, to ſignify they do not ſpare Coffee. It is a very falſe Notion to ſuppoſe the Turks love weak Coffee; and if they have given it weak to ſome Europeans that only proves they took little Care about treating them well.

act

act the Politician; but I, tired of his prating, invited him to ſmoke with me, hoping by that means his diſcourſe would find intervals of reſpite. He then looked at his Watch, counted his Fingers, and told me, I am for you preſently.

His inclined Head, and extended Neck, with his whole appearance, which was a little eccentric, made me ſuſpect him for a Lover of Opium. I was right. He drew a ſmall Box from his pocket, with an air of great Myſtery, clapped his hands, to call one of his Servants, ſhewed him the Box, and this Signal preſently brought our Coffee with the Maſter's Pipe, preceded by a large Glaſs of freſh Water. Our Amateur ſmiled at the ſight, opened his Box, took out three Pills, of the ſize of large Olives, rolled them in his Hand, one after another, offered me the ſame, and, on my refuſal, ſwallowed, with marvellous gravity, the Doſe of Happineſs he had prepared; and which Doſe would, undoubtedly, among us, have been ſufficient to kill twenty People. It was ſo long before we could ſet off that I had time to examine the play of

the Muſcles, and the ramblings of the Imagination, which prologued the drunkenneſs in which I left this beatified Theriaki (*b*).

We had entered Romelia, and no ſooner did I behold this Appanage of the Zinguiſian Princes than I was ſtruck by the Richneſs of an Appearance ſo ſtrange to the reſt of the Ottoman Empire. Variegated Productions, abundant, and well cutivated, Country Houſes, Gardens agreeably ſituated, and numerous Villages, in each of which the Manor Houſe and Plantations were eminent, overſpread the Soil, even on the Hills, and formed a whole, in the European Taſte, the various parts of which redoubled my Aſtoniſhment.

The Town of Seray, and the Palace of the Cham were now in ſight. Here we arrived, through a grand Avenue, which extended in front of the Buildings, and led to the Eſplanade that ſeparated the Town from the Caſtle, whence ſeveral Streets, like Radii of a Circle, were extended into the Plain, by Plantations, and formed a Star, the

(*b*) Lovers of Opium are thus called.

Centre

Centre of which was the firſt Court. This we croſſed to come to the ſecond, where we alighted.

I was introduced to the Selictar, who lived in one of the lateral Wings, and this Officer, leaving me to take a few Moments repoſe, which is always accompanied by Coffee, went to inform his Maſter of my Arrival, and ſoon returned to conduct me to his preſence. The part of the Palace Dewlet-Gueray inhabited was diſtant from the reſt, and before it was a grand Court. He was in the midſt of a great number of Courtiers, and appeared more occupied about his budding Beard, which his Elevation to the Throne made it neceſſary to let grow, than concerning the great Duties he had to fulfil. My Converſation with him was ſufficiently long to convince me that this Prince, too young, at preſent, and, perhaps, of too feeble a Character to dare follow the Tract of Krim-Gueray, his Uncle, had no other Ambition than that of devoting himſelf to the Grand Viſir.

It was too late, when I quitted the new Cham, to think of continuing my Route, and

and I accepted the Offer made me of paſſing the Night in the Palace. This I did the more willingly becauſe that the Selictar, whoſe Office it was to provide for me, appeared amiable, and ſufficiently informed to anſwer the Queſtions I had to put to him, concerning all I had ſeen.

He informed me that this Province, given in Appanage to the Family of Zingis-Khan, is divided into individual Territories, ſo as to aſcertain hereditary Poſſeſſions to each of its Branches, independent of the Porte, and in which the right of Aſylum is inviolable. This, from being an Acceſſary, is become a principal Object; there is not a Raſcal in the Ottoman Empire who may not eſcape with impunity, if he have wherewithal to pay one of theſe Sultans. To theſe caſual Perquiſites, which are frequent, and paid in ready Money, are added Tithes in kind, Capitation, and other Manor Rights.

The Fortune of theſe Princes increaſes, alſo, by the produce of the Poſts they ſucceſſively fill in the Crimea: but this Advantage, which the Porte always beſtows

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on the Deſcendants of Selim-Gueray, diſtinguiſhes them, by their Opulence, from the other Branches; the Heads of which, reduced to live on their Appanage, vegetate to this day in great Mediocrity.

Selim-Gueray, who reigned towards the end of the laſt Century, and the beginning of this, after having ſaved the Turkiſh Army, ready to ſink under the united Forces of the Germans, Poles, and Ruſſians, refuſed the Ottoman Throne, to which Military Enthuſiaſm would have raiſed him; and the Grand Seignior, to recompenſe the Valor and Diſintereſtedneſs of his Deliverer, aſcertained the Throne of the Tartars to his Deſcendants, to the excluſion of the other Zinguiſian Princes. Selim-Gueray, alſo, obtained leave to go on a Pilgrimage to Mecca, which no Prince of the Family ever had before. The Porte might indeed fear that, when at a diſtance, they would ſeek only to incite a Rebellion in their favor; but Selim could not inſpire Miſtruſt. He performed this pious Journey, and his Deſcendants have ſubſtituted the Surname of Hadgi

(Pilgrim) to that of Tchoban (Shepherd) common to all the Family, and which the other Branches ſtill retain.

Some People may wiſh, alſo, to know the Origin of the Surname Gueray, which the reigning Princes in Tartary take. Tradition tells us that one of the Grand Vaſſals, whoſe Name as well as the Epocha of his Crime are forgotten, formed the Project of uſurping the Throne of his Maſters; and, having prepared the means, ordained the Maſſacre of all the Zinguiſian Princes. A faithful Subject, taking advantage of the Tumult, had the addreſs to conceal a young Prince, ſtill in the Cradle, from the Aſſaſſins. He confided his Treaſure and his Secret to a Shepherd, named Gueray, whoſe Probity was univerſally acknowledged. The young Zinguiſian, brought up by the name of Gueray, ſaw, without knowing it, his Heritage a prey to Tyranny, while his pretended Father, occupied by his Country Concerns, waited the favorable Moment when public Hatred ſhould be ſufficiently incited to make the Tartars riſe againſt the Uſurper.

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The Prince had attained his twentieth Year when this happened: the old Shepherd, who ſtill increaſed in the public Eſteem, ſaw the Conſpiracy take birth, animated the Conſpirators, preſented his Sovereign, and re-eſtabliſhed him on the Throne of his Fathers, after the Death of the Tyrant.

The new Cham had, hitherto, no other Title to govern his People than the Teſtimony of an old Man; a reſpectable one, it is true, but who might always be ſuſpected to have acted from ambitious Motives. His Diſintereſtedneſs ſoon diſpelled Suſpicion: called to the Foot of the Throne, to receive the Reward of ſo ſignal a Service, he refuſed all proferred Honors, and would receive no other Benefit than that of immortalizing his Zeal and his Name together. From that moment he returned to keep his Flocks; the Cham governed by the name of Tchoban-Gueray, and the Surname of Gueray is preſerved, to this day, in the Tartar Succeſſion, as well as that of Shepherd: *Tchoban.*

The Turkiſh Hiſtorians differ on this head, and their Compilations would caſt a doubt on the Tartar Tradition, if the falſities which are ſeen in the moſt recent Ottoman Hiſtories did not force us to reject the opinion of the Turkiſh Annaliſts. They pretend that the name of Gueray belonged to one of the younger Branches of the Zingis-Khan Family; but we ſhould rather ſearch the Origin of the Epithet Shepherd than that of the proper name; and this is only to be found in the Tradition I have recounted.

I left Seray, and the round I had taken to go thither having given time to let the Turkiſh Army paſs Pazardgik, I met none but Stragglers, when I rejoined the Route to Conſtantinople: but the dead bodies with which it was ſtrewed, the ſaccage of Villages, and the deſolation of the whole Country, announced the horrible diſorder which every where attended its March. Companies of Horſe and Foot joined this Army, one after another, without Officers, or the appearance of Diſcipline. The ſmall Parties, we met, ſeemed only united to wrangle with

with each other, lay about them without regard to Cauſe or Conſequence, amuſe themſelves with the reſult, aſſaſſinate a few miſerable Chriſtians, imagine their Enemies already exterminated, and glean, as we may ſay, to keep themſelves in practice, after the Harveſt; which had already been ſo thoroughly reaped, by the main Army, that the horrid proofs of their Labours reached the very Walls of Conſtantinople. The ravages of Fire were univerſal. We changed Horſes on the Embers of the Poſt-houſes; nor could we find any Aſylum, on the road, till we came to the Seven Towers, where I alighted to go, by Sea, to the Suburbs of Pera.

While they were ſeeking a Boat, and preparing to put my little Baggage on board, a Turk, the News-monger of the Street, obſerved me, and aſked my Conductor who I was. A Mirza, replied he; and preſently this inquiſitive Perſon came up, ſaluted, and invited me to refreſh myſelf. I accepted his offer, and we went to a Coffee-houſe, of which he was the Oracle.

On a ſignal from him, the Place of Honor was ceded to me. The Company roſe, I gravely ſtepped over twenty long Tobacco-pipes, and, alternately feaſted and queſtioned, till the moment of my departure, paid my reckoning with a few Monoſyllables, whence the Politicians drew infinite Deductions, and with which my Hearers were well ſatisfied. I was equally ſo to leave them, and go to Pera; where I immediately quitted my Tartar Dreſs.

END of the SECOND PART, and of the FIRST VOLUME.

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